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**THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE HOLY CROSS
IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE**

G. Q. REIJNERS



THE TERMINOLOGY OF THE HOLY CROSS IN
EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

AS BASED UPON OLD TESTAMENT TYPOLOGY

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*omnibus
in ordine sanctae crucis
confratribus*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Antike und Christentum
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
ARW	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
CAC	Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi
CC	Corpus Christianorum
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DB	Dictionnaire de la Bible
ETHL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
GCP	Graecitas Christianorum Primaeva
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JThS	The Journal of Theological Studies
LCP	Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva
LMD	La Maison-Dieu
N F	Neue Folge
NRTh	Nouvelle Revue Théologique
N S	New Series
PG	Migne, Patrologia Graeca
PL	Migne, Patrologia Latina
PO	Graffin-Nau, Patrologia Orientalis
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RB	Revue Bénédictine
RB ₁	Revue Biblique
RHE	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse
SC	Sources Chrétiennes

SD	Studies and Documents
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
ThW	Theologisches Worterbuch zum Neuen Testament
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
VC	Vigiliae Christianae
ZAW	Zeitschrift fur die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZKTh	Zeitschrift fur katholische Theologie
ZNW	Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZThK	Zeitschrift fur Theologie und Kirche

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INTRODUCTORY NOTES

In writing this philological thesis we had as our aim: to examine the terms for the Holy Cross in early Christian Literature (up to the beginning of the third century) in order to ascertain whether or not a typological connection between the Cross and symbols (τύποι) from the Old Testament found expression in these terms.

Some of the concepts of this objective require further elucidation. *Christian Literature*: By this we understand the writings of Christianity outside the New Testament, that is, Christian writings in the widest sense, also including the more or less orthodox Apocrypha and the Acts of the Martyrs. The data contained in the earliest Acts of the Martyrs are extremely scanty for our purpose. Therefore these Acts are not dealt with as an independent section in this study.

Early Christian Literature: In this investigation we have given to the term 'early' a limited meaning. By early Christian Literature is understood here: the earliest Christian writings outside the New Testament up to the beginning of the third century, including Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian.

It seemed to us appropriate to choose for a first examination this earliest period in Christian Literature. For it is particularly in this period that the Fulness of God's Revelation to man was profoundly experienced as the fulfilment of God's promises to 'the fathers'. At this time especially, the Christian Dispensation was seen as the realization of what in Israel had still been only foreshadowing. In this period too 'the Scriptures' originally meant, not only for the Jew but also for the Christian, God's Revelation set down in what we nowadays call 'the Books of the Old Testament' but which for both Jew and Christian were in the beginning of the Christian era simply 'the Scriptures'.¹ These Scriptures, however, were read by the Christian with

¹ Cf. J. VAN DER PLOEG, *L'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Épître aux Hébreux*, in RBi 54 (1947), p. 193.

an attitude of mind different from that of the Jew. For the Christian, Christ was the object of God's Revelation in the Old Testament. Typical of this attitude is the remark in the Epistle of Ps. Barnabas 12, 7 (p. 25 f.): ἔχεις πάλιν καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτόν. Ps. Barnabas writes this after having given in the same chapter two figures and two predictions from the Old Testament which refer to the Cross and the crucified Christ. This interpretation of the Scriptures in early Christianity leads us to the concept of *typology*. In the years following the Second World War much has been written not only by exegetes but also by patrologists on the *sensus typicus* (and the *sensus plenior*) of the Holy Scriptures and also on the typological interpretation of the Old Testament in early Christianity.¹ As a philologist we do not feel ourselves competent to mingle in this discussion and yet we are confronted in our examination with this typological interpretation. This would, indeed, require a definition of the concept 'typology'.

In our thesis we employ this word in the following meanings:

- i. for that interpretation of the Holy Scriptures whereby a person, a thing, an event from the Old Testament is seen as a figure of the Person of Christ or prefiguring some detail of the Christian Dispensation.

¹ Cf. L. GOPPELT, *Typos. Die typologische Deutung des alten Testaments im Neuen*, Gütersloh 1939.

B. J. ALFRINK, *Over de typologische exegese van het Oude Testament* (inaugural address), Nijmegen 1945.

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J. COPPENS, *Les harmonies des deux Testaments. En étudiant les divers sens des Écritures*, NRTh 70 (1948), p. 794-810; 71 (1949), p. 3-38; p. 337-366; p. 477-496.

R. BULTMANN, *Ursprung und Sinn der Typologie als hermeneutische Methode*, in: Pro Regno, pro Sanctuario (a series of articles for G. van der Leeuw), Nijkerk 1950, p. 89-100.

J. DANIELOU, *Sacramentum futuri. Essai sur les origines de la Typologie biblique*, Paris 1950.

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H. DE LUBAC, *A propos de l'allégorie chrétienne*, in RSR 67 (1960), p. 161-196.

2. for the interrelation between figure (symbol) and the Christian reality which is prefigured (symbolized).¹

Moreover, we wish to establish emphatically that this investigation is a philological one, although it may prove of some service to exegetes and patrologists. It is an examination of words, not, however, from the point of view of their etymology or shades of meaning, but in so far as the choice of these words was determined or influenced by symbols (τύποι) derived from the Old Testament. It is thus in no way either an archeological or iconographical study.

Having clarified our purpose, we should also like briefly to cast some light upon content and classification. On examining the texts it became clear to us that the terms σταυρός and ξύλον could not be dealt with separately, that is, if we wish to avoid a lot of unnecessary repetition. The meaning of ξύλον as a term for the Cross only becomes plain in its contrast with σταυρός as we hope to show in our first chapter. The associations conjured up by both these words in the first centuries of Christianity are in their turn impossible to understand without an impression of their meaning in the Old and New Testaments. Furthermore, in order not to isolate completely the Old and New Testament texts in which these words occur, we have sought points of contact in profane Literature. We have, moreover, sketched in broad outline the semantic development of σταυρός, the usual term for the instrument of crucifixion. It is thus that the first chapter begins with a number of introductory remarks.

In dealing with the early Christian Literature, the real field of our investigation, we have discussed first the Greek Patristic texts and then the Apocryphal writings. We have classified the latter according to themes in connection with the Cross. Together with these Greek writings we have also included Tertullian in this investigation. This requires some explanation. Tertullian's conversion and first literary activity belong still to the second century. Moreover, his conversion and development as a Christian occur in a period when Greek still occupied a predominant place in Christian Literature and in Liturgy. Furthermore, Tertullian was bilingual; some of his lost works were in

¹ Cf. J. DANIELOU, in *Les divers sens de l'Écriture*, p. 120; 'Une relation entre les réalités de l'Ancien Testament et celles du Nouveau'.

Greek.¹ The influence of the Greek Fathers and in particular of Justin and Irenaeus appears clearly from the two works in which Tertullian discusses in detail the Old Testament in its relation to the New Testament, namely in *adversus Marcionem* and in *adversus Iudaeos*.² We have indeed confined our examination of Tertullian's extensive oeuvre to those sections of the two works mentioned in which he discusses the symbols and predictions of the Cross in the Old Testament. It seemed to us interesting to examine, how Tertullian used in Latin the Greek terminology relating to the Cross.

In the second chapter we have discussed the remaining terms for the Cross which arouse Old Testament associations, namely κέρας, ῥάβδος, σημεῖον. As far as κέρας and ῥάβδος are concerned, the data are scarce. In examining σημεῖον as a term for the Cross it seemed desirable to discuss the σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου from Mt. 24, 30 and to examine in detail the σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως from *Didache* 16, 6. In the study of 'signum', which corresponds to the Greek σημεῖον, in the work of Tertullian, it appeared that the term *signum* is not employed by him for the Holy Cross but in connection with a cruciform *signatio*.³ This interesting phenomenon led us to examine the *signatio* in its relation to the Cross in a wider connection, in which examination we have also included the other works of Tertullian. We have, moreover, consulted Cyprian, Hippolytus and Origen, authors from the first half of the third century, in order to obtain a better overall picture of a semantic development of which we find the first indications in Patristic Literature in the works of Tertullian.

Although the terminology of the Holy Cross in its connection with the symbols (τύποι) of the Cross in the Old Testament is the real object of our research, it seemed nevertheless desirable to cast a brief glance also at the symbols of the Cross which are not derived from the Old Testament in so far as they occur in this early Christian Literature. We have done this in our first appendix.

¹ Cf. P. MONCEAUX, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne I*, Paris 1901, p. 6 f.; p. 187 f.

CHR. MOHRMANN, *Tertullianus. Apologeticum en andere geschriften uit Tertullianus' voor-Montanistische tijd* (Monumenta Christiana III), Utrecht 1951, p. XVI.

² Cf. G. QUISPÉL, *De bronnen van Tertullianus' adversus Marcionem*, Leiden 1943, p. 57-79.

³ We have deliberately kept this rather vague Latin term, by which we mean: the gesture of making 'a sign' with the hand upon oneself or upon others.

In addition to these visual symbols of the Cross there is also mention of linguistic symbolism, that is, of metaphor. As an interesting specimen of metaphor in connection with the Cross we have discussed in a second appendix the 'eulogy on the Cross' from the Paschal homily, probably inspired by Hippolytus' *περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα*. It was our intention to examine at the same time to what extent this eulogy concurs with the picture which we have obtained from early Christian Literature.

In this study of the terminology of the Cross we have based our arguments on the Greek version of the Old Testament known as the Septuagint. Just as in Hellenistic Judaism, belief in the inspired character of the Septuagint persisted in early Christianity.¹ The authority of the Septuagint was, for instance, for Justin so strong that in his discussion with the Jew Trypho on the correct reading of Isaiah 7, 13 (*νεᾶνις* or *παρθένος*) he preferred the reading of the Septuagint to that of the Hebrew text to which Trypho referred.² The division into verses and also the numbering of the Psalms is that of the Septuagint. For the names of the Books of the Old and New Testaments and for the spelling of Biblical proper names we have referred to the Revised Standard Version.³ We have in every case consulted this translation (from the original text) and frequently adopted it. In places, however, where the Fathers quoted a text from the Old or New Testament different in version from that translated in the R.S.V., we have always translated their version of the text.

The texts upon which this study is based are mentioned together with the editions used on p. X-XI. When quoting from one of these texts,

¹ Cf. Philo, *De vita Moysis*, II, 7, 37 (IV, p. 208).

Justin, *Dial.* 68, 7 (p. 177 f.); 71, 1 (p. 181); 120, 4 (p. 239); 124, 3 (p. 244); 131, 1 (p. 252); 137, 3 (p. 259).

Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* III, 24-25 (II, p. 111 ff.; esp. p. 114 f.).

Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* I, 22, 148-149 (II, p. 92).

Cf. W. SCHWARZ, *Principles and Problems of Biblical translation*, Cambridge 1955, p. 23 ff.

CHR. MOHRMANN, *Linguistic Problems in the early Christian Church*, VC 11 (1957), p. 14 ff.

M. SIMON, *Verus Israel*, Paris 1948, p. 184.

J. DANIELOU, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*, Tournai-Paris 1958, p. 102 f.

— *Message évangélique et culture hellénistique aux 2e et 3e siècles*, Tournai-Paris 1961, p. 200.

² *Dial.* 67 f. (p. 174 ff.)

Cf. J. VAN DER PLOEG, *art. cit.*, p. 194.

³ *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments* (Revised Standard Version), London 1957.

we have given in brackets only the page and where relevant the volume of the edition indicated in the text itself and not in the foot-notes. *E.g.*, Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* III, 19, 4 (II, p. 98) indicates: 2nd volume, page 98 in the edition of W. W. Harvey.

At the end of this work we should like to express our gratitude to all those who have assisted us either by their interest, their advice or their help in the correction of manuscript and proofs. We wish to thank especially Mrs. M. F. Foran-Hedlund M.A. (Oxon.) of Mountmellick (Eire) for her precious work of translation.

CROSS AND WOOD (OF THE CROSS)

A. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

1. *The profane usage of σταυρός*

In the earliest Greek literature already, in the epics of Homer, the word σταυρός occurs in the meaning of *stake* or *post*, and only in the plural: a fence consisting of stakes (σταυροί) driven into the ground. In Iliad XXIV, 453 mention is made of a fence surrounding the court near Achilles' tent:

ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ μεγάλην αὐλήν ποίησαν ἄνακτι
σταυροῖσιν πυκνοῖσι·

We find σταυρός used in the same meaning in Odyssey 14, 11 in the description of the garden laid out by Eumaeus around his farm:

σταυρούς δ' ἐκτὸς ἔλασσε διαμπερές ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
πυκνοὺς καὶ θαμέας,

In the scholium on Odyssey 14, 11 ¹ the explanation is given:
σταυροί· τὰ ὀρθὰ καὶ ἀπεξυσμένα ξύλα.

This meaning of σταυρός: 'upright stake' or 'pole' is entirely in accord with the etymological explanation which Boisacq ² gives of the root **sthan* or **sthu*: the 'state of standing, of being upright.' This root may presumably also be recognized in the Greek στῦλος and στοά ³ and in Latin in *in-staurare* and *re-staurare*.⁴ It is interesting to compare with this the etymological explanation given by Hesychius of Alexan-

¹ W. DINDORF, *Schoha Graeca in Homeri Odysseam II*, Oxford 1855, p. 580.

² E. BOISACQ, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg-Paris 1938 ³, p. 902 s.v. σταυρός

³ *Op. cit.* p. 914.

⁴ A. WALDE-J. B. HOFMANN, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I*, Heidelberg 1938 ³, p. 705 f. s.v. *instaurare*.

dria in his lexicon under σταυροί¹: οἱ καταπεπηγότες σκόλοπες, χάρακες καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐστῶτα ξύλα· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐστάναι.

In post-Homeric Greek literature we find σταυροί in this same meaning of upright stakes (used either as foundation or as fencing), among others,² in Herodotus V, 16: ἔκρια ἐπὶ σταυρῶν ὑψηλῶν ἐξευγμένα and in Thucydides IV, 90, 2, where an earthen wall around the temple of Apollo at Delium is reinforced: σταυροὺς παρακαταπηγνύντες. In the scholium on this passage the explanation is given³: σταυροὺς· ὀρθὰ ξύλα.

The elucidations in the scholia on Homer and Thucydides and in the lexicon of Hesychius may indicate that in a later period this original meaning of σταυρός (always used in the plural) was no longer generally understood and that an explanation was thus necessary.

From the texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods it is clear that another meaning of σταυρός, that of *instrument of torture* (in the form of a stake), has become current. Thus, for example, in Polybius, *Historiae*, I, 86, 6,⁴ where it is told how, in their war against Carthage, mercenaries captured Hannibal, a Carthaginian leader and, how: 'taking him . . . to Spendius' cross (σταυρός) they tortured him cruelly there, and then, taking Spendius down (from the cross), they attached (ἀνέδεσαν) Hannibal alive to it'.

So also in Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* II, 18, 1⁵: Stabrobates, king of India, threatens Semiramis with death by crucifixion: 'He threatened to nail her to the cross (σταυρῷ προσηλώσειν) when he had defeated her'. The addition προσηλοῦν 'to nail fast to' enlightens us further concerning the nature of the punishment by the cross.

In the works of Philo⁶ and Josephus⁷ too we frequently find σταυρός employed in this meaning. In Philo's *in Flaccum* IX, 72 (VI, 133) mention is made of punishment by the cross: ἡ τελευταία . . . τιμωρία σταυρὸς ἦν; cf. X, 84.

In Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* mention is repeatedly made of crucifixion,⁸ evidently the usual punishment in cases of attempted

¹ *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, ed. M. SCHMIDT, Jena 1867², c 1387.

² In this section we have made no attempt to cover all the ground but have merely quoted those texts which throw light upon the meaning of σταυρός.

³ *Scholia in Thucydidem*, ed. C. HUDE, Leipzig 1927, p. 272.

⁴ Cf. W. R. PATON, *Polybius I*, p. 232 f. (Loeb Classics).

⁵ Cf. C. OLDFATHER, *Diodorus Siculus I*, p. 408 f. (Loeb Classics).

⁶ Philo is quoted according to the edition of L. COHN-P. WENDLAND-S. REITER, vols I-VI, Berlin 1896-1915.

⁷ Josephus is quoted according to the edition of B. NIESE, vol. I-VI, Berlin 1955 (photographical reprint).

⁸ See *e g* II, 12, 6 (241); 13, 2 (253); 14, 9 (205-208), V, 11, 1 (449-451).

revolt in strife-torn Palestine. We shall quote only two passages: *Bellum* II, 14, 9 (VI, 212f.): Florus causes a number of noble Jews to be crucified, after having them scourged: 'Florus ventured that day to do what none had ever done before, namely, to scourge (μαστιγῶσαι) before his tribunal and nail to the cross (σταυρῶ προσηλῶσαι) men of equestrian rank, men who, if Jews by birth, were at least invested with that Roman dignity'.¹ Also in *Bellum* V, 11, 1 (VI, 496): Jewish prisoners of war are crucified by Titus' soldiers during the siege of Jerusalem: 'The soldiers . . . nailed (προσήλουν) their prisoners in different postures; and so great was their number, that space could not be found for the crosses (σταυροί) nor crosses for the bodies'.²

As a final example we quote Plutarch's *De sera numinis vindicta* 9 (*Moralia* 554 A), a text which is also important in connection with the 'carrying of the cross': 'Every criminal who goes to execution must carry his own cross (σταυρός) on his back'.³

The frequent mention of σταυρός in the sense of instrument of torture in Greek literature from the second century B.C. onwards is undoubtedly connected with the growing contact of Greece and the hellenized East with the Romans, among whom, in the later centuries of the Republic, crucifixion was a common punishment for slaves and could, for certain crimes, also be applied to free men.⁴

Although there is no textual evidence for σταυρός in the sense of instrument of torture in earlier Greek literature, this does not imply that 'crucifixion' was unknown in this literature. The verb σταυροῦν is not mentioned in Homer and neither it nor σταυρός are mentioned in Hesiod, Aeschylus, Sophocles or Euripides. Herodotus, who uses the word σταυροί once (V, 16), is not familiar with the simple form σταυροῦν. He does, however, know the compound ἀνασταυροῦν, presumably in the sense of 'to impale', a Persian punishment. So in VII, 194, where the punishment of Sandoces is mentioned: 'Darius had him (Sandoces) . . . impaled (ἀνεσταύρωσε) because he had given unjust judgment for a bribe'.⁵ Thucydides too is familiar with ἀνασταυροῦν in this meaning.

¹ H. ST. J. THACKERAY, *The Jewish War II*, p. 442 f. (Loeb Classics).

² Cf. *idem*, *The Jewish War III*, p. 340 f.

³ Cf. PH. H. DE LACY-B. EINARSON, *Plutarch's Moralia VII*, p. 214 f. (Loeb Classics).

⁴ Cf. PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft IV*, c. 1728 ff. s.v. *crux* (H. F. HITZIG).

DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines I*, 2, p. 1573 ff. s.v. *crux* (G. HUMBERT-E. SAGLIO).

⁵ Cf. J. E. POWELL, *A lexicon to Herodotus*, Cambridge 1938, p. 24 s.v. ἀνα-

So in I, 110, 3: 'Inarus, however, king of the Libyans, who had been the originator of the movement in Egypt, was taken by treachery and impaled (ἀνεσταυρώθη).¹ Here again the reference is to a non-Greek punishment.²

On the other hand Thucydides also knows the simple form σταυροῦν, not in the sense of 'to crucify' but in that of 'to bring up a row of stakes (as protection)'. So in VII, 25, 7: οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐσταύρωσαν, namely in the sea, to safeguard their wharves in the port of Syracuse. Similarly in the passive, in VI, 100, 1³: 'When it seemed to the Syracusans that enough of their counterwall had been constructed with stone-work and stockade (ἐσταυρώθη) . . .'

Plato is also aware of the punishment by the cross, as appears from *Gorgias* (473c): 'If a man be caught criminally plotting to make himself a despot, and he be straightway put on the rack . . . and after suffering himself . . . a number of grievous torments of every kind, he be finally crucified (ἀνασταυρωθῇ), . . . will he be happier than if he escape?'.⁴ Like Herodotus and Thucydides he employs the term ἀνασταυροῦν but here too the context gives no indication of the nature of the punishment.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods we also find the simple form σταυροῦν used in the sense of to put a person to death at or upon a σταυρός. We have, for example, Polybius I, 86, 4⁵ where it is told how, during the war of mercenaries, a number of prisoners of war are crucified by the Carthaginians: 'They took Spendius and the other prisoners up to the walls and crucified (ἐσταύρωσαν) them there in the sight of all'. In this meaning Polybius also uses ἀνασταυροῦν.⁶

The simple form is also found in Diodorus Siculus XVI, 61, 2⁷: Onomarchus, who has committed sacrilege, is crucified: ὁ δέ . . . Ὀνόμαρχος ἐσταυρώθη. In Diodorus too, however, it is more common to find ἀνασταυροῦν used in this meaning.⁸ In his *Bibliotheca* we also find

σταυρώω: 'to impale'. Also used of a dead body in III, 125; VI, 30; of a human head in IV, 103; VII, 238.

Cf. A. D. GODLEY, *Herodotus III*, p. 510 f. (Loeb Classics).

¹ Cf. CH. F. SMITH, *Thucydides I*, p. 184 f. (Loeb Classics).

² Cf. A. W. GOMME, *A historical commentary on Thucydides I*, Oxford 1945, p. 322. He does not mention whether the reference here is to a crucifixion or to an impaling.

³ Cf. CH. F. SMITH, *Thucydides III*, p. 364 f. (Loeb Classics).

⁴ Cf. W. L. M. LAMB, *Plato V*, p. 348 f. (Loeb Classics).

⁵ Cf. *ed. cit.* p. 232 f.

⁶ *E.g.* I, 11, 5; 24, 6.

⁷ Cf. CH. L. SHERMAN, *Diodorus Siculus VII*, p. 408 f. (Loeb Classics).

⁸ *E.g.* II, 1, 10; 44, 2; XIII, 111, 4; XIV, 53, 5.

σταυροῦν used once in a meaning which shows great similarity with that of σταυροῦν in Thucydides VII, 25, 7 (cf. VI, 75, 1), namely in XXIV, 1, 2¹ where mention is made of the barricading of the harbour mouth of Lilybaeum by the Romans: 'The Romans barricaded (ἐσταύρωσαν) the depths with large beams and anchors'.

Strabo too, *Geographica* XIV, 1, 39² is familiar with the use of the simple form σταυροῦν in the meaning of to crucify: 'And the city (*i.e.* Magnesia in Aeolis) lies in the plain near the mountain called Thorax, on which Daphitas the grammarian is said to have been crucified (σταυρωθῆναι)'.

Epictetus, *Discourses* II, 2, 20,³ also knows this use of σταυροῦν and σταυρός: 'if you wish to be crucified (σταυρωθῆναι), wait and the cross (σταυρός) will come'.

Referring to Prometheus' punishment, Lucian employs in his *Prometheus* variously προσηλοῦν (in 1), ἀνασκολοπίζειν (in 7), ἀνασταυροῦν (in 4. 15. 17).

In his *Iudicium vocalium* 12 he had the letter 'tau' condemned to death on a tau-shaped cross, a punishment referred to as ἀνασκολοπίζειν. In *De morte Peregrini* mention is made in ch. 11 and ch. 13 of the Christians who adore someone who was crucified in Palestine. In both places Lucian employs the verb ἀνασκολοπίζειν.

From this material we may venture to conclude that in the Hellenistic and Roman periods the content of the term σταυρός (employed in the plural) 'stakes', used either as fencing or foundation, was transformed into that of 'stake', serving as an instrument of torture (now also employed in the singular). We may further deduce that the terms σταυροῦν, ἀνασταυροῦν, ἀνασκολοπίζειν cannot always be clearly distinguished, and that these terms do not in themselves throw light upon the manner of execution whereby a 'stake' (σταυρός, σκόλοψ) was used as an instrument of torture.⁴

The data from the papyri and non-literary sources are either too unimportant or too recent to be of any help in our research.⁵

¹ Cf. L. DINDORF, *Diodorus Siculus IV*, Leipzig 1867, p. 331.

² Cf. H. L. JONES, *Strabo VI*, p. 248 f. (Loeb Classics).

³ Cf. W. A. OLDFATHER, *Epictetus, Discourses I*, p. 228 f. (Loeb Classics).

⁴ We have derived considerable data from the articles of JOH. SCHNEIDER in ThW VII, p. 572-584 s.v. σταυρός, σταυρώ, ἀνασταυρώ (1962).

⁵ Cf. J. H. MOULTON-G. MILLIGAN, *The vocabulary of the Greek Testament, illustrated from the Papyri and other non-Literary Sources*, London 1957, s.v. προσηλώ, σκόλοψ, σταυρός, σταυρώ

2. ξύλον in the Septuagint and in profane usage

If, after a broad survey of the profane use of σταυρός, we search for it in the Septuagint, we find that it does not appear there at all. As far as Jewish history is concerned this is not so surprising, since crucifixion was unknown to Jewish Law. This Law did, however, sanction, after the customary death penalty of stoning, the hanging of the dead body on a tree. We read in the Mishnah¹: 'All that have been stoned, must be hanged'.² This is in accordance with Deut. 21, 22: 'If a man has committed a crime punishable by death and he is put to death, and you hang him on a tree ...'.³

From the places in the Old Testament (LXX) in which mention is made of putting to death at a tree (wood), a punishment applied to non-Jews, or hanging on a tree (wood) after death (whether as a Jewish or non-Jewish punishment), we have selected those texts which are important in view of the terminology of the Cross in the New Testament and early Patristic literature. Where possible we have compared the Old Testament (LXX) terminology with that of Josephus.

In Genesis 40, 19 (cf. 40, 22; 41, 13) mention is made of the hanging (after beheading) of the court baker of the Pharaoh, prophesied by Joseph: '... Pharaoh will lift up your head – from you – and hang you on a tree':

LXX⁴: ἀφελεῖ Φαραὼ τὴν κεφαλὴν σου ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ κρεμάσει σε ἐπὶ ξύλου.⁵

From the point of view of vocabulary it is interesting to compare with this Josephus' reading of the same event. In *Antiquitates Iudaicae* II, 77 (I, 98) the chief butler tells the Pharaoh of his own dream in prison and of that of the baker, and what followed after: καὶ προσελθὼν ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ ... ὅτι σταυρωθεῖη ... ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν. In *Ant.* II, 73

¹ Tractate Sanhedrin 6, 4. Cf. H. DANBY, *The Mishnah*, Oxford 1933, p. 390.

² Cf. also H. STRACK-P. BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch I*, München 1922, p. 1034 f.

³ The English translation of quotations from the Old Testament is usually taken from the *Revised Standard Version (Holy Bible RSV)*, London 1957).

⁴ The LXX is everywhere quoted according to the edition of A. RAHLFS, *Septuaginta*, vols. I–II, Stuttgart 1935.

⁵ The *Vetus Latina (Vetus Latina, die Reste der alt-lateinischen Bibel, vol. 2 Genesis, ed. BON. FISCHER, Beuron 1954, p. 415)* reads in Gen. 40, 19: *1 auferet Pharaon caput tuum abs te et suspendet te in ligno*. The Vulgate (*loc. cit.*): *auferet Pharaon caput tuum ac suspendet te in cruce* (in Gen. 40, 22: *suspendit in patibulo*). The quotations from the Vulgate are taken from the *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem*, Roma 1926 ff.

(I, 97) ἀνασταυροῦν is employed for the same event. As we have already seen, the Septuagint (Gen. 40, 19) refers to it by: κρεμάζειν.¹

Of the first importance is the decree from the Jewish Law concerning hanging after death, as found in Deuteronomy 21, 22f.: 'If a man has committed a crime punishable by death and he is put to death, and you hang him on a tree, his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but you shall bury him the same day, for a hanged man is accursed by God; you shall not defile your land which the Lord your God gives you for an inheritance'. The phrases which concern us are translated as follows:

22c: 'and (if) you hang him on a tree'

LXX: καὶ (ἐάν) κρεμάσητε αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξύλου ²

23a: 'his body shall not remain all night upon the tree'

LXX: οὐκ ἐπικοιμηθήσεται τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ³

23c: 'for a hanged man is accursed by God'

LXX: ὅτι κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου

Aquila ⁴: ὅτι κατάρα Θεοῦ κρεμᾶμενος

Symmachus (ibid.): ὅτι διὰ τὴν βλασφημίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκρεμάσθη

Theodotion (ibid.): ὅτι κατάρα Θεοῦ κρεμᾶμενος

Gal. 3, 13 (quotation from Deut. 21, 23): ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου ⁵

In Joshua 8, 29 mention is made of the hanging of the king of Ai: 'and he (i.e. Joshua) hanged the king of Ai on a tree'.

LXX: καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Γαὶ ἐκρέμασεν ἐπὶ ξύλου διδύμου. ⁶

¹ Philo, who in *De somnii* II, 213 (II, 275) gives an allegorical interpretation of the dream from Gen 40, 16 f., employs here the expression: προσηλωμένος ὥσπερ οἱ ἀνασκολοπισθέντες τῷ ξύλῳ

² Vulgate *et (quando) adpensus fuerit in patibulo*

³ Vulgate *non permanebit cadaver eius in ligno*

⁴ Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion are quoted according to volume and page in F FIELD, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, 2 vols., Oxford 1875.

These quotations from Deuteronomy: *op cit* I, p 304.

⁵ Tertullian, *adversus Marcionem* III, 18, 1 (p 531) *maledictus omnis qui dependit in ligno* In *adv Marc* V, 3, 10 (p 670) *maledictus omnis ligno suspensus*

Tertullian is everywhere quoted according to the page in the *Corpus Christianorum, series Latina, I Opera Catholica, II Opera Montanistica* (consecutive paging), Turnholt 1954

Vulgate *quia maledictus a Deo est qui pendet in ligno*

⁶ G BERTRAM in ThW III, p 916 s v κρεμάννυμι. 'In Jos 8, 29 hat sie (i.e. die LXX-Übersetzung) offenbar an die Kreuzigung gedacht und deshalb das διδύμου von sich aus hinzugefügt'.

Origen, in *librum Jesu Nave Hom* VIII, 3 (Origenes VII, p 338), uses the same

In the book of Esther mention is made of the gallows which Haman has prepared for Mordecai but on which he himself is hanged. The gallows is always referred to by ξύλον.¹ For the 'hanging' we find the verb κρεμάζειν employed.² Verse 7, 9 is remarkable. One of the eunuchs points out the gallows to the king, who orders Haman to be hanged upon it. We find this command expressed in the Septuagint with the words: σταυρωθήτω ἐπ' αὐτοῦ (i.e. ξύλου). From this use of σταυροῦν – the only case in which σταυροῦν occurs in the Septuagint – it appears that the Greek translator of Esther:

- 1 no longer sensed the meaning of σταυρός (= 'stake') in σταυροῦν.
 - 2 did not know σταυροῦν in the exclusive meaning of our 'crucify' but considered this verb to be also applicable to hanging on a gallows.
- The σταυρωθήτω ἐπ' αὐτοῦ from 7, 9 is immediately followed (7, 10) by: καὶ ἐκρεμάσθη Ἀμάν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου.³

In *Ant.* XI, 184ff. Josephus tells the same story. Here too it is interesting to compare Josephus' choice of words with that of the Septuagint. In *Esth.* 2, 23 it is told how the two eunuchs who had formed a plot against Ahasuerus are put to death:

LXX: ἐκρέμασεν αὐτούς.

Josephus, *Ant.* XI, 208 (III, 44): τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους ἀνεσταύρωσεν, evidently meaning by this the same as the Septuagint.

In *Ant.* XI, 246 (III, 51) the wife of Haman advises: ξύλον κοπήναι πηχῶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἀνασταυρῶσαι Μαρδοχαῖον.

The Septuagint (*Esth.* 5, 14) also speaks here of κοπήτω σοι ξύλον but in contrast to Josephus of: κρεμασθήτω Μαρδοχαῖος ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου.

expression (in Rufinus' translation): *in ligno gemino: post omnia autem etiam rex Gai in ligno gemino dicitur esse suspensus*. Origen then gives a spiritual explanation (*mysterium*) of this *in ligno gemino*. It refers to Christ's cross upon which Christ is crucified in a visible manner, the devil invisibly
Vulgate: *regem quoque eius suspendit in patibulo*.

¹ Viz. in 5, 14 (*ter*); 6, 4; 7, 9 (*bis*). 10; 8, 7.

² Viz. in 5, 14; 6, 4; 7, 10; 8, 7.

³ In the Vulgate we find, corresponding to the ξύλον of the Septuagint: *excelsa trabes* (5, 14); *excelsa crux* (5, 14), *patibulum* (6, 4); *lignum* (7, 9); *patibulum* (7, 10); *crux* (8, 7).

For the 'hanging on the gallows' we find: *adpendere* (5, 14); *affigere* (6, 4); *adpendere* (7, 9), where the Septuagint employs σταυροῦν, *suspendere* (7, 10); *affigere* (i.e. *cruci*) (8, 7).

The *codex Corbeiensis* (c. 500) utilized by PETRUS SABATIER in his edition of the book of Esther (*Biblia Sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae I-II*, Reims 1743), always employs *lignum*.

In *Ant.* XI, 261 (III, 53) and XI, 266 (bis; III, 54f.) the ξύλον of XI, 246 is called σταυρός.

In XI, 267 (III, 55) king Ahasuerus gives the order: παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν (*i.e.* Haman) ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ σταυροῦ κρεμασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν.

From all this it is clearly evident that Josephus uses σταυρός and ξύλον, σταυροῦν and κρεμάζειν indiscriminately, and thus it becomes more understandable that the application of the text from Deut. 21, 23: κεκατηραμένους ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου to Christ's crucifixion (cf. Gal. 3, 13) should have been accepted as natural in Jewish-Hellenized circles.¹

If we compare the Septuagint translation with the Hebrew (Massoretic) text, which is admittedly written down later, it becomes clear that in every instance quoted, with the exception of Deut. 21, 23c and Esth. 5, 14c where it is missing in the Massoretic Text,² the Greek ξύλον corresponds to the Hebrew 'עֵץ', which has the meaning of 'wood' (living or dead).³

Summing-up: In the Old Testament there is no mention of crucifixion but there is of 'hanging', whether as a death penalty or as added ignominy following another form of death penalty. The instrument of torture or pillory used is always referred to in the Septuagint by ξύλον and is the translation of the Hebrew 'עֵץ. The verb used in this connection is κρεμάζειν, which is only once replaced by σταυροῦν, viz. in Esth. 7, 9.

From Josephus' account of the punishment of the Pharaoh's court baker it appears that the terms σταυροῦν and ἀνασταυροῦν could also be

¹ As we have seen (p. 8, footnote 3), the Vulgate does not show the uniform rendering which we find in the Septuagint, but instead employs a multiplicity of terms *crux-lignum-patibulum-trabs*. Are we to deduce from this a hesitation on the part of the Latin translator concerning the correct rendering in Latin of the Hebrew 'עֵץ or the Greek ξύλον, or is this variation to be viewed as a stylistic element? Seneca too, *epist. mor.* 101, 12 employs *crux* and *patibulum* immediately after each other, and speaks in 101, 14 of *infelix lignum*. In *De vita beata* 19, 3 he uses *crux*, *supes* (cf. Jos. 10, 26), *patibulum*, words which here refer to the same manner of crucifixion. In *Ad Marciam* 20, 3, on the contrary, Seneca is clearly referring to three different methods of crucifixion: '*Video ishc cruces non unus quidem generis, sed aliter ab aliis fabricatas capite quidam conversos in terram suspendere, alii per obscoena supitem egerunt, alii brachia patibulo explicuerunt*'.

² It is also missing in MT in Jos. 8, 29b; Esther 7, 9c, but the addition can be explained from the context.

³ It is a pity that the English 'wood' does not convey the ambivalence of the Hebrew 'עֵץ and the ξύλον of the Septuagint.

used in this connection. The same can be noted in his rendering of the story of Haman and Mordecai, where Josephus used σταυροῦν. In this section of his work too, however, we find the verb κρεμάζειν in the expression: ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ σταυροῦ κρεμασθέντα, in a way the pendant of σταυρωθῆτω ἐπ' αὐτοῦ (i.e. ξύλου) from Esth 7, 9

The absence of σταυρός in the Septuagint remains remarkable.

The Septuagint translators were the more easily able to decide upon the Greek ξύλον as a translation of the Hebrew 'es because in profane usage too ξύλον could have the meaning of instrument of punishment or torture. We find it used in this way ¹:

1. for a wooden 'collar' around the neck of a prisoner ²
2. for the footblock in which the feet of prisoners were fastened ³ In this meaning the word ξύλον also occurs once in the Septuagint, viz Job 33, 11: 'He put my feet in the stocks (ξύλον)'. ⁴ This text proves in any case that the Greek translator of Job was familiar with this shade of meaning of the Greek ξύλον. The word ξύλον also occurs again in this meaning in the New Testament, viz Acts 16, 24. 'He (i.e. the jailer) fastened their (i.e. of Paul and Silas) feet in the stocks (ξύλον)'
3. as a pillory for head, hands and feet ⁵
4. as a gallows. ⁶ The Septuagint translation in the book of Esther undoubtedly concurs with this usage of ξύλον
5. as *acuta crux* upon which criminals were impaled ⁷

¹ Cf LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES, *A Greek-English lexicon*, Oxford 1940⁹, p. 1192 s.v. ξύλον

Cf. also ThW V, p. 37 s.v. ξύλον (JOH SCHNEIDER)

² Cf Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 680 ἄλλα τούτων χρῆν ἄτασῶν εἰς τετραμήνον ξύλον ἐγκαθαρμόσαι λαβόντας τουτονὶ τὸν αὐχένα (cf *Nubes* 592)

³ Cf Lysias, X, 16 δέδεσθαι δ' ἐν ποδοκάκῃ ἡμέρας πέντε τὸν πόδα 'Ἡ ποδοκάκῃ αὕτη ἐστίν, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ δεδεσθαι Cf Herodotus, VI, 75, IX, 37

⁴ Here ξύλον is not based on the Hebrew 'es but on the Hebrew sad (= block)

⁵ Cf Aristophanes' *Equites* 1049 τουτονὶ δῆσαι σ' ἐκέλευ' ἐν πεντεσυρίγγῳ ξύλῳ Cf the elucidation in the scholium (ed W DINDORF, *Aristophanis Comœdiæ IV*, 2, *Scholîa Graeca*, Oxford 1838, p. 299) πεντεσυρίγγῳ πέντε ὁπὰς ἔχοντι, δι' ὧν οἱ τε πόδες καὶ αἱ χεῖρες καὶ ὁ τράχηλος ἐνεβάλλετο

⁶ Apostolus III, 34 (ed E LEUTSCH-F SCHNEIDEWIN, *Corpus Pseudoepigraphorum Graecorum II*, Hildesheim 1958, p. 295) ἀπὸ καλοῦ ξύλου κἀν ἀπάγξασθαι ... (cf Aristophanes, *Ranae* 736)

⁷ So in a fragment from the comic writer Alexis (ed J M EDMONDS, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta II*, Leiden 1959, p. 482 f., fragment 222 B) ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄνδρ' ἰδῶ, ἡδιστ' ἂν ἀναπήξαιμι ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου λαβὼν

This being so, Joh. Schneider rightly observes¹ that in profane Greek already the word ξύλον contained the shade of meaning: 'indignity', 'ignominy'. It was therefore merely a short step (via the Septuagint) to the meaning 'cross', which ξύλον can assume in the New Testament. This 'short step', the use of ξύλον with this connotation in the Septuagint in Deut. 21, 22f., was, however, of decisive significance for the adoption of ξύλον in the meaning of 'cross' in the New Testament and in early Patristic literature.

3. σταυρός and ξύλον in the New Testament

In narrating the story of the Passion the four evangelists employ σταυρός, and only σταυρός, to designate the cross of Christ.² In their narrative they use for 'crucifixion' exclusively the verb σταυροῦν,³ and not ἀνασταυροῦν, κρεμάζειν, προσηλοῦν, προσπηγνύναι. From this unanimity among the evangelists in their description of Christ's crucifixion we may deduce that σταυρός and σταυροῦν were the usual terms for Christ's cross and crucifixion in the koinè-Greek of that period.

In addition the Synoptics equally employ σταυρός in the other places in their Gospels where mention is made of a cross, and this is only in the passages dealing with the carrying of one's cross in imitation of Christ.⁴

Outside of the Gospels we find σταυρός in the New Testament used only, but then in every case, in the Epistles of Paul, with the exception of Gal. 3, 13, where Paul is quoting the famous text from Deut. 21, 23. There is, nevertheless, a difference in meaning. Whereas in the Passion-narrative σταυρός has, with all the evangelists, its purely technical meaning of 'implement of torture', corresponding to the Roman *crux*, this is not necessarily so in Paul. This compels us to review the meaning of σταυρός in Paul in the light of the context. We shall at first discuss the various passages separately.

1 Cor. 1, 17f.: Context: Paul's point of view with regard to the dissensions in the community of Corinth: it is not a question of belonging to Paul, Apollos or Cephas, but to Christ. Paul is thankful therefore that he has baptized hardly anybody. 1, 17: 'For Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the Gospel (εὐαγγελίζεσθαι), not with eloquent wisdom, lest the cross of Christ be emptied of its power (ἵνα μὴ

¹ ThW V, p. 37 s.v. ξύλον.

² Mt. 27, 32. 40. 42; Mk. 15, 21. 30. 32; Lk. 23, 26; Jn. 19, 17. 19. 25. 31.

³ Mt. 27, 22. 23. 26. 31. 35. 38; Mk. 15, 13. 14. 15. 20. 24. 25. 27; Lk. 23, 21. 23. 33; Jn. 19, 6 (*bis*). 10. 15 (*bis*). 16. 18. 20. 23. 41.

⁴ Mt. 10, 38; 16, 24; Mk. 8, 34; Lk. 9, 23; 14, 27.

κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρός τοῦ Χριστοῦ)' So it is not a question of preaching human wisdom in eloquent phrases, but of the 'naked' preaching of the Cross, lest the cross of Christ should lose its significance of salvation 1, 18 In verse 18 Paul elucidates what 'the word¹ of the Cross' (ὁ λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ) signifies for the Christian 'the word of the Cross is folly to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved, it is the power (δύναμις) of God'.

It is clear that in verses 17 and 18 σταυρός is not used purely as a technical term for the cross as an instrument of torture Besides its technical sense it has a theological one symbol of the salvation by Christ²

Galatians Theme Judaizing Christians wish to impose circumcision and the upholding of the Jewish Law upon converted pagans as being necessary for salvation In this they detract from the all-redeeming power of Christ's crucifixion To their ideas Paul opposes the salutary significance of Christ's cross The following texts must be considered in this connection.

5, 11: 'But if I, brethren, still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted? In that case the stumbling block of the Cross (τὸ σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ) has been removed'

6, 12 'It is those who want to make a good show in this world that would compel you to be circumcised, and only in order that they may not be persecuted on account of the cross (σταυρός) of Christ'

6, 14 'God preserve me from glorying in anything other than the cross (σταυρός) of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified (ἐσταυρώθη) to me, and I to the world'

There is, indeed, in 5, 11 a clear allusion to the horror which the cross inspires in its hard reality But at the same time the Cross, as opposed to circumcision, is the exponent of the Christian expectation of salvation (6, 12), which is why Paul glories only in the Cross (6, 14)

Ephesians 2, 16. Context. the pagans too are part of the universal Church Christ has pulled down the dividing wall between Jews and pagans He has recreated them as one new man and reconciled both groups, united in one Body, with God 'through the Cross (διὰ τοῦ

¹ The Greek λόγος is here ambivalent on the one hand it signifies the matter of the λόγος the mystery of salvation of man by the Cross, on the other hand the λόγος itself as message of salvation (εὐαγγέλιον)

² In the sequence of this passage (1, 19-25) Paul tellingly sketches the attitude of Jews and pagans towards the mystery of the cross Cf the excellent remarks on this passage by F DINKLER in *Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz*, in JAC 5 (1962) p 100 f

σταυροῦ). The word σταυρός is here used of Christ's death on the Cross as the means by which mankind (Jews and pagans) is reconciled with God. We gain the impression from this text too that σταυρός is in process of developing into a symbol of Redemption.

Philippians 2, 8: Context: Paul exhorts the community at Philippi to unity among themselves and humble Love after the example of Christ, who 'humbled (ἐταπείνωσεν) himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross (σταυρός)'. The emphasis here lies more on the ταπείνωσις (through obedience), contrasted with the ὑψωσις by God¹ than on the cross. Σταυρός is here employed in its general meaning of instrument of torture.

3, 18: Context: here Paul is probably speaking of bad-living or apostate Christians who 'live as enemies of the cross (σταυρός) of Christ'. The cross of Christ is here for Paul the symbol, or rather the synthesis of salvation in Christ.

Colossians 1, 20: Context: speaking of Christ's preeminence Paul says that 'in Him all the fulness of God was pleased to dwell, and through Him to reconcile to Himself all things whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of His cross (εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ)'. Christ's blood, shed on the Cross, is the means of reconciliation between God and creation.

2, 14: Context: the circumcision and the Jewish Law have been cancelled out for the Christian by the redeeming grace of Christ. Paul here uses the image of a bond: 'The debenture to our charge, which testified against us with its legal demands has been wiped out. He (Christ) set it aside, nailing it to the Cross (προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ)'.
In both instances the Cross is intended in its usual sense, even though it is incorporated in Paul's doctrine of Redemption.

Hebrews 12, 2: Context: speaking of Christ as our model the author² of the Epistle to the Hebrews says that 'instead of the joy which was

¹ This sequence of ideas: ταπείνωσις of man, ὑψωσις by God, is already found in the Old Testament; cf. 1 Sam. 2, 7; Job 22, 29; Ezek. 21, 31; Proverbs 29, 29. In the New Testament too we find this theme in Mt. 23, 12; Lk. 1, 52 (*Magnificat*); 14, 11; 18, 14; Jam. 4, 6. 10. In Jn. 3, 14; 8, 28; 12, 32. Christ's humiliation on the cross is at the same time His exaltation (ὑψοῦν).

² We mention here the Epistle to the Hebrews as traditionally forming part of the *corpus Paulinum*. This does not bind us, however, to any theory regarding its authorship.

His right, Christ endured the cross (ὑπέμεινεν σταυρόν), not counting the shame'.

Here too mention is made of the shame of the cross (in its literal sense).

Conclusion: The meaning of σταυρός in the Epistles of Paul is not identical in every text. Paul too stresses the historical fact of the crucifixion and the shame associated with it, viz. Gal. 5, 11; Phil. 2, 8; Col. 1, 20; 2, 14; Hebr. 12, 2. In the other passages quoted, viz. 1 Cor. 1, 17f.; Gal. 6, 12. 14; Eph. 2, 16; Phil. 3, 18 σταυρός no longer has its general meaning of instrument of torture, but develops besides a theological (soteriological) meaning, although not to the same degree in each of the quoted texts. For Paul σταυρός becomes the symbol or the synthesis of Redemption in Christ.¹

If we compare these quotations from Paul with the other texts of the New Testament in which the cross of Christ is mentioned, we are confronted with a striking difference. Outside the Gospels and the *corpus Paulinum* we do not find the σταυρός which we would expect, but ξύλον. In view of the unanimity among the evangelists and in the *corpus Paulinum* in their use of σταυρός, we have reason to assume that there existed in the other cases particular motives for avoiding the generally used σταυρός and preferring ξύλον instead.

We shall give here the passages in question in their context:

Acts 5, 30: Context: Peter and the other apostles, brought before the Council, bear witness to Christ: 'the God of our fathers raised Jesus to life, whom you put to death by hanging Him on a tree (κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου)'.² To this deep humiliation Peter opposes the exaltation by God: 'God exalted (ὑψώσεν) Him at His right hand as Leader and Saviour, to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins'.

It is clear that this is a testimony given in the presence of Jews (the God of our fathers; Israel). In this Jewish milieu Peter, by using the expression κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου, harks back to Deut. 21, 23, a connection which is even more plainly established in Gal. 3, 13.

Acts 10, 39: Context: We find the same reference to the crucifixion in Acts 10, 39 in the instruction given by Peter to the Roman centurion Cornelius and his household, the first pagans to be received into the

¹ For the treatment of σταυρός in the Epistles of Paul we have derived data from *La sainte Bible de Jérusalem* (in fascicles), *passim*

Het Nieuwe Testament van onze Heer Jesus Christus, Oegstgeest 1961, *passim*. The article σταυρός in ThW VII, p. 575 ff. (JOH. SCHNEIDER)

² Literally: on the wood (of the Cross).

Church. Luke's summary of this catechesis is contained in verses 34-43. Although Peter's audience consists mainly of non-Jews, Jesus' mission among the Jews is discussed in detail. Peter evidently assumed that these pagans too would be familiar with it. Jesus' crucifixion is referred to with the same words as in Acts 5, 30: 'They put Him to death by hanging Him on a tree (κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου)'.¹ Here too the humiliation of the crucifixion is contrasted with the exaltation by God. In verse 41 Peter speaks of the people (ὁ λαός), evidently referring to the Jewish people.² In verse 43 he calls upon the prophets to bear witness, which was of course most meaningful when speaking to Jews.

It is impossible to escape the impression that we are dealing here with a fixed form of catechetical instruction, even so far as wording is concerned, and used primarily for the Jews. The expression κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου is most likely a reminiscence of this.

Acts 13, 29: Context: this verse forms part of Luke's account of Paul's address given one sabbath in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia (verses 16-41). This entire address is obviously directed at a Jewish audience. Reference is made to the foretelling of the Passion by the prophets (verses 27-29), which the inhabitants of Jerusalem and their leaders fulfilled by their condemnation of Jesus. 'And when they had fulfilled all that was written of Him, they took Him down from the tree (καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου)' ³ and laid Him in a tomb'. Here too the use of ξύλον may be explained by the Jewish trend of the entire address.⁴

1 Peter 2, 24: Context: in his correspondence with the Christians in the diaspora Peter, in 2, 18-25, reminds the slaves of their duty and holds up to them the image of the patiently suffering Christ. The words with which he conjures up this image are inspired by Isaiah 53 (the Servant of Yahweh) ⁵: 'He (Christ) carried up (ἀνήνεγκεν) our sins in His body to the tree (ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον),⁶ that we might die to sin and live to righteousness. By His wounds you have been healed'.⁷

It is not clear why Peter, in his correspondence with communities composed for the most part of pagans,⁸ uses the term ξύλον. He may

¹ Literally: on the wood (of the Cross).

² Cf. in contrast with ὁ λαός (verse 41) the 'pagans' (τὰ ἔθνη) in verse 45.

³ Literally: from the wood (of the Cross).

⁴ Cf. also verses 42-47.

⁵ Peter quotes from Is. 53, 4. 5. 6. 9.

⁶ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον: literally: to the wood (of the Cross).

⁷ This verse (2, 24) contains allusions to Is. 53, 4. 5. 12.

⁸ Cf. 1 Peter 1, 1. 18; 2, 10.

have been inspired to do so by the harking back to Isaiah's prediction of the suffering Christ. Moreover, the exclusive use of ξύλον in Peter's testimony ¹ is indicative of life in a Jewish current of thought, which also serves to explain the use of ξύλον in 1 Peter 2, 24.

Galatians 3, 13: Context: The only place in the *corpus Paulinum* where ξύλον is used to refer to the cross of Christ, is Gal. 3, 13. Paul there declares that all who rely on righteousness proceeding from the Law are under the curse of the Law. For everyone who does not abide by all the precepts of the Law is accursed.² 'Christ redeemed us from this curse of the Law having become a curse for us; for it is written: "cursed be everyone who hangs on a tree (ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου)"'.³

Paul is here quoting Deut. 21, 23: κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. The textual variant ἐπικατάρατος may presumably be explained by the influence of Deut. 27, 15-26 ⁴ where all curses are preceded by: ἐπικατάρατος.

Paul here identifies Christ's death on the Cross (σταυρός) with the Jewish hanging on the tree (ξύλον) after death.

That this may be understood in this manner appears, among other instances, from the indiscriminate use of σταυροῦν and κρεμάζειν in the Septuagint (Esther) ⁵ and in Josephus ⁶ and is also the common point of departure for the Jew Trypho and the Christian Justin in the latter's *Dialogus cum Tryphone*.

This identification of σταυρός and ξύλον also provides us with the key to the interpretation of ξύλον in Acts 5, 30; 10, 39; 13, 29; 1 Peter 2, 24. So W. VAN LEEUWEN ⁷ rightly observes: 'The international σταυρός became the word which expressed the salvation from the curse and the reconciliation of all peoples. It must be read and understood in the sense of (the Jewish) ξύλον and stamped by Jesus Christ'.⁸

¹ Cf. Acts 5, 30; 10, 39.

² Cf. Gal. 3, 10 where the curse from Deut. 27, 26 is quoted.

³ Literally: who hangs on a 'wood'.

⁴ Cf. the quotation from Deut. 27, 26 in Gal. 3, 10.

⁵ See p. 8. ⁶ See p. 6 ff.

⁷ W. S. VAN LEEUWEN, *Een zin van de kruisdood in de Synoptische evangeliën*, in *Nieuwe Theologische Studiën* 24 (1941) p. 81.

⁸ For the treatment of ξύλον we have derived data from:

La sainte Bible de Jérusalem (in fascicles), *passim*.

Het Nieuwe Testament van onze Heer Jesus Christus, *passim*.

J. BLINZLER, *Der Prozess Jesu*, Regensburg 1960³, p. 264.

ThW III, p. 916 t. s.v. κρεμάννυμι (G. BERTRAM).

ThW V, p. 38 ff s.v. ξύλον (JOH. SCHNEIDER).

In *Revelation* we find the expression ξύλον (τῆς) ζωῆς four times ¹ used. Although Cyprian ² will establish a connection between the cross of Christ and this ξύλον (τῆς) ζωῆς from *Revelation*, John lays no foundation for this. In his description of the new Jerusalem it is to the earthly Paradise from *Genesis* ³ that John is referring; but no connection is made between Christ's cross and the tree of Life.

In early Christian literature before Cyprian any linking of the Cross and the tree of Life is based, not on *Revelation*, but on *Genesis*. This is completely in accordance with the typological exegesis.

4. *Expressions for the Crucifixion in the New Testament*

Although, in discussing early Christian literature, it is not our intention to comment on every verb used to refer to the crucifixion of our Lord, we have, nevertheless, made an exception for the New Testament. We have done so because they may then be compared with the examples already quoted from the Septuagint and from profane literature.

We have already pointed out that in the Passion-narrative all the evangelists use only σταυροῦν to refer to the crucifixion. In the same way, when speaking to the women, the angel refers to the risen Christ as τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον (Mt. 28, 5; Mk. 16, 6).

We also find σταυροῦν employed for the crucifixion in the story of the travellers to Emmaus (Lk. 24, 20).

This same σταυροῦν is used in the third and fourth prophecies of the Passion (Mt. 20, 19; 26, 2; Lk. 24, 7).

In Jesus' invective too against the Pharisees the crucifixion of Christian prophets, wise men and scribes is referred to with σταυροῦν (Mt. 23, 34). We find this same σταυροῦν again in the Acts, namely in Peter's first preaching (2, 36) and in his testimony before the high priest (4, 10).

Referring to Deut. 21, 23 the crucifixion is alluded to by κρεμάζειν (ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου) in Acts 5, 30; 10, 39; Gal. 3, 13.

Of the murderers who were crucified with Jesus Luke (23, 39) says too: εἷς δὲ τῶν κρεμασθέντων κακούργων. The other three evangelists speak here of συσταυροῦν (Mt. 27, 44; Mk. 15, 32; Jn. 19, 32).

¹ Viz. 2, 7; 22, 2. 14. 19.

² *Testimonia ad Quirinum* II, 22 (CSEL 3,1 p. 90).

³ Cf. Gen. 2, 9; 3, 22 ff.

In Acts 2, 23 (also in Peter's first preaching) the crucifixion is referred to with προσπηγνύναι: τοῦτον . . . προσπήξαντες ἀνείλατε.¹

In Col. 2, 14, for the nailing of the bond to the cross of Christ, Paul uses προσηλοῦν.

The verbs σκολοπίζειν and ἀνασκολοπίζειν are not found in the New Testament.

John, who in his Passion-narrative agrees with the Synoptics in using only σταυροῦν, alludes to Christ's crucifixion in other parts of his gospel with the ambivalent ὑψοῦν.² That this expression was not evident when applied to the crucifixion appears from the explanatory addition in 12, 33. The fact too that this verb is not used again in this connection in other places in the New Testament serves already to draw our attention to this typically Johannine usage, which remains confined to the three places mentioned.

We are, therefore, surely justified in assuming that John intended to refer not only to the crucifixion but also to Christ's exaltation, in the same sense that Peter twice uses ὑψοῦν in his catechesis for Christ's exaltation to the right hand of God after His resurrection.³ But contrary to Peter, in John's train of thought crucifixion and exaltation coincide.

That, to the Jewish mind, this exaltation by God is usually associated with abasement from the human point of view, is apparent from other texts in which ὑψοῦν is opposed to ταπεινοῦν.⁴

It is in this sense that Paul in Phil. 2, 9 uses ὑπερυψοῦν of Christ's exaltation by God on account of His abasement unto death on the Cross.

B. CROSS AND WOOD (OF THE CROSS) IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

In view of what we have already found it seems justifiable in dealing with the names for the holy Cross in early Christian literature, to work on the assumption that σταυρός is the usual term and that the use of ξύλον (or of other terms, as we shall see in the following chapter) is

¹ Vulgate: *hunc . . . affligentes interemistis.*

² 3, 14; 8, 28; 12, 32.

Cf. G. BERTRAM, *Der religionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund des Begriffs der 'Erhöhung' in der Septuaginta*, ZAW 68 (1956), p. 63f.

³ Acts 2, 33; 5, 31.

⁴ Cf. Mt. 23, 12; Lk. 1, 52; 14, 11; 18, 14; 2 Cor. 11, 7; James 4, 10 (cf. 1, 9); 1 Peter 5, 6.

See also p. 13, footnote 1.

anyhow motivated by the context. In discussing this motivation we are chiefly interested in motives derived from the Old Testament.

It will be for the texts themselves to show whether or not this assumption is justified.

1. *The Apostolic Fathers*

Neither σταυρός nor ξύλον is found in the *Didache*. There is indeed a possible reference to the Cross (*crux gloriosa* at the Parousia) in ch. 16,6. We shall, however, defer any examination of this until the second chapter.¹

Clement of Rome too, in his *Epistle to the Corinthians*, uses neither σταυρός nor ξύλον to refer to the cross of Christ, nor is there any trace of either word in the so-called *Second Epistle* of Clement.

Ignatius of Antioch

In Ignatius of Antioch,² on the contrary, we find σταυρός used five times for the cross of Christ. Only once, viz. *ad Rom.* 5, 3 (p. 99) does he use it in the general sense of a particular form of martyrdom, alongside πῦρ, θηρίων συστάσεις etc.

We shall examine more closely the meaning of σταυρός in the other cases with reference to the context.

ad Eph. 9, 1: (p. 85) In this passage Ignatius compares the faithful with 'stones' from which a temple is built in honour of God.³ These stones are raised up to their place in the construction by the instrument (μηχανή) of Jesus Christ, viz. the Cross (ὅς ἐστιν σταυρός).

In this passage the Cross is incorporated in a developed metaphor. The deeper meaning of this metaphor is: the Redemption is an ἀναφέρεισθαι εἰς τὰ ὕψη; the instrument of the Redemption is the Cross.⁴

¹ See p. 123 ff.

² Ignatius of Antioch is quoted according to text and page in the edition of F. X. FUNK-K. BIHLMAYER, *Die apostolischen Väter I*, Tübingen 1956².

³ Cf. Paul, *ad Eph.* 2, 20 ff.

⁴ J. B. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers II* (St. Ignatius-St. Polycarp), vol. 2, London 1889², p. 534, refers to Clement of Rome's *ad Cor.* 49, 4 where the function given here to the Cross is attributed to Love (FUNK-BIHLMEYER-p. 61): τὸ ὕψος εἰς ὃ ἀνάγει ἡ ἀγάπη, ἀνεκδιήγητόν ἐστιν. There, however, the metaphor lacks the developed character that in Ignatius so strikingly illuminates the function of the Cross. We do, however, find this same metaphor of the Cross developed again in Methodius' *contra Porphyrium*, Fragm. 1, 7 (GCS 27, p. 504; BONWETSCH) The Cross is here described as:

ad Eph. 18, 1 (p. 87): The text reads as follows: Περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. Ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητητής; ποῦ καύχησης τῶν λεγομένων συνετῶν; The difficulty of the first sentence lies in περίψημα.¹ Whatever the correct meaning of περίψημα, it lends weight to our presumption of Pauline influence.² This influence may also be detected in the rest of the first sentence.³ The second sentence is partly a quotation and in its entirety an echo of 1 Cor. 1, 19 f.

Ignatius expresses the content of the concept σταυρός in the words: σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. For him the Cross is the synthesis of Salvation. This too is Pauline. In our opinion, in this sense of σταυρός, περίψημα is more appropriate in the meaning of surrender, devotion, than of humiliation.

ad Trall. 11, 2 (p. 95): In this passage it is said of wrong-thinking growths, such as the Docetists, that they are not planted by the Father, for if they were they would show themselves to be branches of the 'tree of the Cross': εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐφαίνοντο ἂν κλάδοι τοῦ σταυροῦ. This metaphor implies that Ignatius does consider true believers to be branches of the tree of the Cross. From the following phrase: καὶ ἦν ἂν ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν ἄφθαρτος we gather that the fruits on the branches of the tree of the Cross grant immortality, that is, eternal Life.

Here thus the Cross is considered as the tree of Life.⁴ Had it been Ignatius' intention to establish a typological connection between the Cross and the tree of Life from Paradise, we would have expected to

μηχανὴ δι' ἧς οἱ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν εὐθετοῦντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας κάτωθεν, λίθου τετραγώνου δίκην, ἀνέλκονται ἐναρμολογούμενοι τῷ θεῷ Λόγῳ.

Cf. TH. CAMELOT, *Ignace d'Antioche - Polycarpe de Smyrne, Lettres et Martyre de Polycarpe* (SC 10), Paris 1958³, p. 78.

¹ LIGHTFOOT, *op. cit.* II, 2 p. 74 points out the ambivalence in περίψημα: 'abasement': my spirit bows itself at the foot of the Cross, 'self-sacrifice': my spirit devotes itself for the sake of the Cross.

CAMELOT, *op. cit.* p. 87 translates: 'Mon esprit est la victime de la Croix'.

G. STAHLIN, ThW VI, p. 91 s.v. περίψημα gives the following explanation: 'Mein Geist ist ein verachtetes Suhnopfer des Kreuzes, d.h. ich gebe mich unter der Verachtung der Welt hin für das Kreuz Christi'.

WALTER BAUER, *Worterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Berlin 1958⁵, c. 1296 s.v. περίψημα gives preference to the translation: 'Alleruntertanigster Diener'.

² Cf. Ignatius, *ad Eph. 9, 1* and Paul, *Eph. 2, 20 ff.*; Ignatius, *ad Eph. 8, 1, 18, 1* and Paul, *1 Cor. 4, 13*.

³ Σκάνδαλον in connection with the Cross also in Paul, *1 Cor. 1, 23*; *Gal. 5, 11*.

⁴ Cf. J. DANIELOU, *Les symboles chrétiens primitifs*, Paris 1961, p. 45: 'Le fait que le fruit soit incorruptible (ἄφθαρτος) paraît bien montrer que la Croix est considérée ici comme arbre de vie'.

Cf. LIGHTFOOT, *op. cit.* II, 2 p. 177.

find here the word ξύλον and a clearer reference to the ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς from Genesis. With reference to this passage the question seems justified: did Ignatius use anywhere the term ξύλον for the cross of Christ? In fact, it appears that he does not use it at all in his letters. To this we can link a more general question: to what extent did Ignatius live in and from the Old Testament tradition? It is remarkable that the number of quotations from or allusions to texts from the Old Testament in his letters ¹ is very small compared with those from the New Testament, notably from the Epistles of Paul.

Our participation in the Redemption which grants us eternal Life, is represented under the metaphor of the tree of the Cross, with its branches and fruits.

ad Philad. 8, 2 (p. 104): Against those who assert: if it cannot be found in the charters (ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις), I do not believe in the Gospel, Ignatius maintains: for me Jesus Christ is the charter (ἀρχεῖα); His cross (σταυρός), death and resurrection are the genuine records (τὰ ἀδικτὰ ἀρχεῖα).

Once again we note the use of a metaphor (τὰ ἀρχεῖα) alien to the Jewish religious sphere. The term ἀρχεῖον occurs neither in the Septuagint nor in the New Testament. If we assume with Lightfoot ² and Camelot ³ that by τὰ ἀρχεῖα Ignatius' opponents are referring to the Old Testament,⁴ to which Ignatius opposes the testimony of Jesus' passion, death and resurrection, then this statement of Ignatius confirms our assumption that the establishing of typological connections between the Old and New Testaments is not to be expected from him.

The sense of σταυρός is here: the reality of Christ's crucifixion as well as of His resurrection as the basis of Ignatius' belief in the Redemption.

ad Smyrn. 1, 1 (p. 106): Ignatius begins his epistle to the community of Smyrna with a glorification of God who granted the faithful of Smyrna so much wisdom. For Ignatius has seen their undaunted faith, as though they were nailed with body and soul to the cross of Christ (. . . ὥσπερ καθηλωμένους ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι).

¹ When contrasted, for example, with Clement of Rome.

² *Op. cit.* II, 2 p. 273.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 148 ff.

⁴ Cf. the expression γέγραπται in *ad Philad.* 8, 2 and the Judaism, mentioned in *ad Philad.* 6, 1.

Cf. CAMELOT *loc. cit.*

In view of the strong Pauline tie, this metaphor: καθηλωμένους ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ may be inspired by Gal. 2, 19: Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι.¹

This concept καθηλωμένος is found again in *ad Smyrn.* 1, 2 (*ibid.*), not as a metaphor but in the literal sense, where Ignatius expresses his belief in the reality of the crucifixion of our Lord: ... ἀληθῶς ... καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί.

Conclusion: In none of the five instances where Ignatius uses σταυρός as a term for the cross of Christ could we detect anything of a conscious reversion to the Old Testament. In other words, there is no trace of a typological link. So it is understandable that Ignatius makes no use of the term ξύλον for the cross of Christ.²

Polycarp of Smyrna

ad Philip. 7, 1 (p. 117): In the same way as Ignatius, Polycarp, reverting to 1 Jn. 4, 2f. and 2 Jn. 7, stresses the reality of Christ's incarnation and passion. He expresses the latter as follows³: ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν. In this context the expression τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ is best explained as a subjective genitive⁴: to combat concepts held by Docetists the truth of the Passion is stressed alongside the reality of the Incarnation.

ad Philip. 8, 1 (*ibid.*): Here Polycarp quotes the text from 1 Peter 2, 24 which we have already discussed: ὃς ἀνήνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, where ξύλον is a reference to the cross of Christ. Since this is a quotation we cannot draw from it any definite conclusions concerning Polycarp's own point of view.

Moreover, the single use of σταυρός compared with that of ξύλον (in a quotation) hardly gives us the right to draw any conclusions.

¹ Cf. LIGHTFOOT, *op. cit.* II, 2 p. 289, who refers also to Gal. 6, 14 and Ignatius' *ad Rom.* 7, 2.

² Cf. L. W. BARNARD, *The Background of St. Ignatius of Antioch*, in VC 17 (1963) p. 193 ff.

³ Polycarp (Epistle and *Martyrium*) is quoted according to text and page in the edition of FUNK-BIHLMEYER.

⁴ Thus LIGHTFOOT, *op. cit.* II, 3 p. 334 f. who thinks a subjective genitive more probable here and refers to Jn. 19, 34 f. and 1 Jn. 5, 6 ff.

CAMELOT, *op. cit.* p. 214 and J. A. KLEIST, *The Didache, ... the Epistle and Martyrdom of St. Polycarp* ..., (ACW 6), Westminster (Maryland) - London 1948, p. 79 are more positive in this opinion.

STRATHMANN in ThW IV, p. 510 (footnote) pronounces in favour of an objective genitive: μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ: the lesson, the joyful message of the Cross.

Ps. Barnabas

In the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas*¹ the cross of Christ is referred to nine times as σταυρός. On the other hand the author eight times prefers ξύλον when speaking of the Cross.

Here follow the nine instances of σταυρός:

- 8, 1 (p. 19): establishment of a typological connection: ἴδε πάλιν ὁ τύπος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ.
- 9, 8a (p. 21): symbolical explanation of the number 300 (= Tau), symbol of the Cross: ὅτι δὲ ὁ σταυρός ἐν τῷ ταῦ ἤμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν . . .
- 9, 8b (*ibid.*): the letter Tau refers to the Cross: δηλοῖ . . . ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ (*i.e.* τῷ ταῦ) τὸν σταυρόν.
- 11, 1 (p. 23): introduction to the investigation of new forms of typology: Ζητήσωμεν δέ, εἰ ἐμέλησεν τῷ Κυρίῳ προφανερῶσαι περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ.
- 11, 8a (p. 24): Ps. Barnabas draws attention to the combination of Cross and Baptism: Αἰσθάνεσθε, πῶς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὥρισεν.
- 11, 8b (*ibid.*): interpretation of Ps. 1, 3: μακάριοι, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐλπίσαντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ.
- 12, 1a (p. 25): further investigation of typology: Ὁμοίως πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὀρίξει . . .
- 12, 1b (*ibid.*): establishment of a typological connection: ἔχεις πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ . . .
- 12, 2 (*ibid.*): reference to typology: λέγει . . . τὸ πνεῦμα, ἵνα (Μωυσῆς) ποιήσῃ τύπον σταυροῦ . . .

It is noteworthy that in eight of the nine instances Ps. Barnabas employs σταυρός as an introduction, reference or explanation. The use of σταυρός was indicated if only for the sake of clarity.

The use of σταυρός does not appear so obvious in 11, 8b: μακάριοι, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐλπίσαντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ. In the context this sentence must be viewed as an interpretation of Ps. 1, 3, quoted in 11, 6. The continuation of 11, 8 also throws light on clauses from Ps. 1, 3, viz. ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ and τὰ φύλλα οὐκ ἀπορρυήσεται.

It does, however, seem surprising that Ps. Barnabas, who in introducing the quotation was undoubtedly thinking of a person: καὶ ἔσται ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν ὡς τὸ ξύλον, as it were, twists the meaning of this

¹ Ps. Barnabas is quoted according to text and page in the edition of FUNK-BIHLMEYER.

verse from the Psalms into a testimony of Cross and Baptism, for the interpretation of Ps 1, 3 is introduced by . αἰσθάνεσθε, πῶς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὤρισεν.

It is probable that the word ξύλον quasi automatically led Ps. Barnabas to think of the cross of Christ, for which he several times uses the term ξύλον

Confirmation of this interpretation may be found in Justin's *Dialogue* 86, 4, where this same quotation from the Psalms is given as one of the many *testimonia ligni* in connection with the Cross

If our assumption is correct, the word σταυρός would here be an elucidation of the typically Jewish-Christian word ξύλον

The connection between Cross and Baptism has been lost in the Latin translation of Ps. Barnabas ¹. '*Felices qui speraverunt in aquam et in crucem*'.

We shall be obliged to elucidate in rather more detail those instances in which Ps. Barnabas uses ξύλον in connection with the cross of Christ.

5, 13 (p 15 f.). In order to prove that Christ had to die on the Cross (ἔδει γάρ, ἵνα ἐπὶ ξύλου πάθῃ) Ps. Barnabas has recourse to the following compound Psalm text

a Ps. 21, 21, where Barnabas' quotation deviates from the Septuagint Ps. Barn.: φεῖσαί μου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας

LXX ῥῦσαι ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας τὴν ψυχὴν μου

In itself this quotation has absolutely no demonstrative force with reference to the crucifixion of our Lord, although the use of φεῖσαι instead of ῥῦσαι does open the possibility of the crucifixion ² This quotation from Ps. 21, 21 only gains value as evidence if it is linked with the quotation from Psalm 118, 120

b Ps. 118, 120, where we again note a divergence from the Septuagint Ps. Barn.: καθήλωσόν μου τὰς σάρκας

LXX καθήλωσον ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς σάρκας μου

That the two quotations must be linked ³ appears from a passage of Irenaeus' *Demonstratio* 79, where he gives both as one prediction of the crucifixion ⁴

¹ J. M. HEER, *Die Versio Latina des Barnabasbriefes und ihr Verhältnis zur alllateinischen Bibel*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1908, p 67

² Thus W. BAUER, *op cit* c 1461 s v ῥομφαία 'Das Schwert vom Leben jemand's fern halten (damit er am Kreuz sterben kann)'

Cf P. PRIGENT, *L'Épître de Barnabé I-XVI et ses sources*, Paris 1961 (Études Bibliques), p 166

³ The absence of καὶ in *cod V* may presumably also be explained in this manner Cf P. PRIGENT, *loc cit*

⁴ See p 63 f

Cyprian too ¹ cites Ps. 118, 120 in a quotation after the Septuagint: '*confige clavis de metu tuo carnes meas*' as a prediction of Christ's crucifixion.²

The use of ξύλον in this passage cannot be directly linked with one of the texts quoted but can, on the other hand, be explained by Ps. Barnabas' harking back to *testimonia* from the Old Testament. It is impossible to escape the impression that εἶδει γάρ, ἵνα ἐπὶ ξύλου πάθῃ was one of the themes both in the early catechesis and in the debates with the Jews; and on this plane the use of the term ξύλον in recalling *testimonia* from the Old Testament is easily understood.

8, 1-5 (p. 19f.): In this passage Ps. Barnabas gives a typological explanation of the sacrifice of a red heifer and of the ritual accompanying the preparation of the water of purification as described in Numbers 19. The ashes of the heifer, which is sacrificed and burnt outside the camp with cedar wood, scarlet stuff and hyssop (cf. Lev. 14, 4), are mingled with spring or river water.

Ps. Barnabas has also adapted the interpretation of Numbers 19 to the Christian sense.³ In Numbers there is only question of uncleanness, occasioned by contact with a dead person, but Barnabas is thinking not of outer uncleanness but of grave sin (cf. 8, 1: ἀμαρτίαι τέλειαι). In his explanation (8, 2) he makes special reference to the sin of those who killed Christ.

The opening words of the chapter: τίνα δὲ δοκεῖτε τύπον εἶναι; leave one in little doubt concerning its typological intent.

If we compare Numb. 19, 6 (the verse with which we are especially concerned) with Ps. Barnabas 8, 1, we find that the text of Barnabas differs considerably from that of the Septuagint:

Ps. Barn.: ἐντέταλται . . . καὶ αἶρειν τότε τὴν σποδὸν παιδία καὶ βάλλειν εἰς ἄγγῃ καὶ περιτιθέναι τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον ἐπὶ ξύλον (ἴδε πάλιν ὁ τύπος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον) καὶ τὸ ὕσσωπον . . .

LXX: καὶ λήμψεται ὁ ἱερεὺς ξύλον κέδρινον καὶ ὕσσωπον καὶ κόκκινον, καὶ ἐμβαλοῦσιν εἰς μέσον τοῦ κατακάύματος τῆς δαμάλεως.

¹ *Test.* II, 20; *ed. cit.* p. 88.

² The *psalterium Gallicanum* also retains, in the line of the Septuagint: '*Confige timore tuo carnes meas*'.

Modern exegetes, however, translate the Hebrew '*sāmar*' by: 'to stand on end (of hair)', 'to shudder'. Thus, for example, R. Tournay-R. Schwab, *Les Psaumes* 1955², p. 438 (in *la Bible de Jérusalem*): 'De ton effroi tremble ma chair'.

The new Latin translation of this Psalm verse has also been altered in this sense: '*Horrescit timore tui caro mea*'.

³ Cf. also his interpretation of Ps. 1, 3 in ch. 11, 8.

This difference in rendering between Numbers according to the Septuagint and according to Ps. Barnabas, especially in a few notable details such as περιτιθέναι τὸ ξριον τὸ κόκκινον ἐπὶ ξύλον in 8, 1, already leads us to suppose that Ps. Barnabas based his work not only on the Scriptural text but also on details handed down by tradition. We find this assumption confirmed in the Jewish Mishnah. In the tractate *Para* 3, 10 f.¹ the following details are given:

3, 10: 'He (*i.e.* the priest) took cedarwood, hyssop and scarlet-wool ...'.

3, 11: 'He wrapped them together with the ends of the strip of wool and cast them inside the burning (heifer)'.

This quotation from the Mishnah may serve as an explanation for Ps. Barnabas' more detailed text: περιτιθέναι τὸ ξριον τὸ κόκκινον ἐπὶ ξύλον.

In 8, 5 he gives us a typological explanation of this detail: ὅτι δὲ τὸ ξριον ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον; ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλῳ.² It is clear from this interpretation that for Ps. Barnabas τὸ ξριον τὸ κόκκινον is a symbol of kingship.³ He was probably influenced here by the scene from the Passion-narrative (cf. Mt. 27, 28), in which soldiers mockingly draped Jesus in a scarlet cloak (χλαμὺς κοκκίνη) as a sign of His kingship.⁴ At His Second Coming too, according to Barnabas 7, 9 (p. 19), the Son of Man wears a scarlet cloak: ὁψονται αὐτὸν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδῆρη ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον περὶ τὴν σάρκα.

The addition of Ps. Barnabas in 8, 1: ἴδε πάλιν ὁ τύπος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ (cf. 5, 13) καὶ τὸ ξριον τὸ κόκκινον (cf. 7, 8) evidently refers to two well-known themes in connection with the Passion: ξύλον and κόκκινον. J. Daniélou⁵ then rightly assumes that Ps. Barnabas 8, 1-5 is a Christian Midrash on Numbers 19 upon the themes ξύλον and κόκκινον.

Clement of Rome too sees in the scarlet cord (κόκκινον) that Rahab let down from her window (cf. Joshua 2, 18) a type of the Blood of the Lord.⁶

¹ H. DANBY, *op. cit.*, p. 701.

² The unusual combination ἐπὶ ξύλῳ (thus *cod* H V) remains surprising; ἐπὶ ξύλου (*cod* S) is more customary.

³ Cf. P. PRIGENT, *op. cit.* p. 113.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 106.

⁵ J. DANIÉLOU, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme (Histoire des Doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée I)*, Tournai - Paris 1958, p. 115.

This book will henceforth be cited as *Judéo-Christianisme*.

⁶ Concerning the theme κόκκινον can be referred to Melito of Sardis, *Hom.* 79 (the scarlet cloak of Jesus) and to the '*signum coccini*' in Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* IV, 34, 12 (Rahab) and IV, 39 (Tamar).

The combination of the two themes ξύλον and κόκκινον in ἡ βασιλεία 'Ιησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλῳ presupposes a same way of thought as we also find in Justin's *recensio longior* of Ps 95, 10¹

It is clear that Ps Barnabas described the Jewish rites from Numbers 19 in such a way as to be able to attribute to them a typological explanation in connection with the passion and death of Christ. The choice of the word ξύλον in ch. 8, 4 for the cross of Christ. ἡ βασιλεία 'Ιησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλῳ is obviously influenced by the text of *Numbers* 19, 6, as also appears from ξύλον in Ps Barnabas 8, 1 referred to as τύπος τοῦ σταυροῦ

This typological interpretation is absent from the Latin translation²: '*Quare ergo et lana in ligno est?*' *Quia qui crediderit in illum, vivet in perpetuum*' In this translation the clause 'ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία 'Ιησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλῳ, so important for us, has been omitted

12, 1 (p 25) In ch 12, 1-7 Ps Barnabas gives us alternately two predictions and two figures of the Cross. The first prediction, evidently given as a Scriptural quotation καὶ πότε ταῦτα συντελεσθήσεται; λέγει Κύριος· ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ καὶ ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα στάξῃ is not to be found in the Holy Scriptures. The first part of this supposed Scriptural quotation shows some and the last part strong similarity to texts from the apocryphal book of Ezra (IV Ezra). For καὶ πότε ταῦτα συντελεσθήσεται we may refer to IV Ezra 4, 33³ '*Et respondi et dixi quo et quando haec*', and for ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα στάξῃ to IV Ezra 5, 5⁴ '*Et de ligno sanguis stillabit et lapis dabit vocem suam*'

Ps Gregory of Nyssa⁵ gives this same quotation with four small points of difference in text καὶ τότε ταῦτα συντελεσθήσεται, λέγει Κύριος, ὅταν ξύλον ξύλων κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ, ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἷμα στάξῃ, along with Deut 28, 66 and Isaiah 65, 2 and 62, 10 as a prediction of the crucifixion.⁶

¹ Justin's *Dialogue* 73, 1-2, cf also P PRIGENT, *op cit* p 113

² J M HEFR, *op cit* p 53

³ B VIOLET, *Die Esra Apokalypse (IV Esra)*, p 40 (GCS 18)

⁴ *Ed cit*, p 54

⁵ *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos* 7 (PG 46, c 213)

⁶ A RESCH, *Agrapha I* (TU, NF 15, 3-4) Leipzig 1906, p 320 ascribes this quotation to Ps Jeremiah 'Der prophetes des Barnabas enthüllt sich bei Gregor als Jeremia, mithin als das christliche Jeremiabuch'

Cf J DANIELOU, *Judéo-Christianisme*, p 117, P PRIGENT, *op cit* p 117 In *Un testimonium sur la Vigne dans Barnabé c 12, 1*, RSR 50 (1962) p 389 ff

But whatever the origin of this mysterious text and whatever its original meaning,¹ there can be no doubt that Ps. Barnabas saw in ξύλον a reference to the Cross. The introduction immediately preceding our quotation: 'Ομοίως πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὀρίζει and the explanation immediately following: ἔχεις πάλιν περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦσθαι μέλλοντος compel us to this conclusion.

The addition καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦσθαι μέλλοντος is particularly interesting. If Zacagni's textual reading of Ps. Gregory of Nyssa ²: ὅταν ξύλον ξύλω κλιθῇ is correct, then the opinion of P. Prigent who sees in ξύλον a reference to Christ and in ξύλω a reference to the Cross, deserves serious consideration.³ This interpretation would render more acceptable Ps. Barnabas' καὶ τοῦ σταυροῦσθαι μέλλοντος. Prigent views ξύλον as 'titre messianique' and refers to Justin's *Dialogue* 86, a passage which we shall examine later.⁴ In the quotation as given by Ps. Barnabas, however, we have only ξύλον, so that any discussion must be based solely on this one term.

In our opinion Ps. Barnabas' explanation of ξύλον indicates rather an identification of the Cross and the Crucified Lord, an identification which is also suggested by κλιθῇ and ἀναστῇ. These words certainly refer to the death and the resurrection.⁵ The identification is also suggested by the last clause of the quotation: ὅταν ἐκ ξύλου αἶμα στάξῃ.

This identification – and the similarity with IV Ezra also points in this direction – leads us to the realm of the Apocryphal literature. In the *Acta Joannis* 98 ⁶ we find a very eloquent example of this identifi-

DANIÉLOU gives the quotation from Ps. Barnabas as a midrash on Isaiah 5, 1–7 (esp. p. 397).

Ps. Jerome too says in his commentary on Mark 15, 33 (Crucifixion): '*Hic stillavit sanguis de ligno*'. (PL 30, c. 639).

¹ J. DANIÉLOU, *art. cit.* sees in this a *testimonium* concerning Christ as the Vine.

² Quoted by A. RESCH, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

³ P. PRIGENT, *op. cit.* p. 118. A. RESCH (*loc. cit.*) gives another explanation of ξύλον ξύλω: 'Die beiden ineinander gefügten Holzten bilden das Kreuz'.

⁴ See p. 42 ff.

⁵ J. DANIÉLOU, *art. cit.*, p. 390 f., has assembled a number of texts for the combination κλίνεσθαι and ἀναστῆναι. We mention only Clement of Alexandria's *Protrepticus*, ch. 11, 111, 3 (I, p. 79): κέκλιται μὲν ὁ Κύριος, ἀνέστη δὲ ἄνθρωπος. Clement of Alexandria is everywhere quoted according to text, volume and page of OTTO STAHLIN's edition in GCS.

⁶ M. BONNET, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* II, 1, Leipzig 1898, p. 200.

Cf. also the *Martyrium Petri* 9–10, in R. A. LIPSUS, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* I, Leipzig 1891, p. 96.

The *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* are everywhere quoted according to text, volume and page in the edition of R. A. LIPSUS-M. BONNET, Leipzig 1891–1903.

cation and the *Evangelium Petri*¹ also presupposes an association of Christ and Cross at the Resurrection

After this prediction in ch 12, 1 Ps Barnabas gives us two figures of the Cross from the Old Testament. Moses' attitude in prayer (here too Moses is a figure of Christ and Cross) in ch 12, 2-3 and the figure of the brazen serpent in ch 12, 5-7. The two figures are separated by a quotation from *Isaiah* 65, 2, interpreted as a prediction of Christ's crucifixion.

In his article '*The argument from Prophecy*'² T. W. Manson points out that both passages from the Old Testament. Moses' attitude of prayer in the fight against Amalek (Ex 17, 8-16) and the brazen serpent (Numbers 21, 4-9) were linked in both Jewish and Christian tradition. For the Jewish tradition he refers to the Mishnah, tractate *Rosh Ha Shamah* III, 8.³ This text is so interesting for our research that we are quoting it here in its entirety. 'And it came to pass, when Moses held up his hands, that Israel prevailed and, when he laid down his hands, Amalek prevailed. But could the hands of Moses promote the battle? It is, rather, to teach thee that such times as the Israelites directed their thoughts on high and kept their hearts in subjection to their Father in heaven, they prevailed, otherwise they suffered defeat. After the like manner thou mayest say: "Make thee a fiery serpent and set it upon a standard, and it shall come to pass that everyone that is bitten, when he seeth it, shall live." But could the serpent slay or the serpent keep alive? It is, rather, to teach thee that such times as the Israelites directed their thoughts on high and kept their hearts in subjection to their Father in heaven, they were healed, otherwise they perished away.'

So in the Jewish tradition an allegorical, moralising interpretation was given to both passages.⁴

For the Christian tradition Manson refers not only to Ps Barnabas 12, 2-7 but also to Justin's *Dialogue* 91, 3-4 and 112, 1-2, and to Tertullian's *adv. Marcionem* III, 18, texts which will be discussed later.

The combination of both passages in both Jewish and Christian

¹ L. VAGANAY, *L'Évangile de Pierre* 39-42, Paris 1930², p. 298-303.

² In JThS 46 (1945) p. 129-136. Cf. also J. DANIELOU, *Judéo-Christianisme*, p. 106.

³ H. DANBY, *ed. cit.*, p. 192.

⁴ Philo saw in the brazen serpent a symbol of self-control, of self-domination, cf. *Legum allegoriarum* II, 20 (79-81).

tradition indicates a fixed theme, Jewish in origin, adopted by Christians and interpreted in a Christian sense.

Of Moses' attitude of prayer in the struggle against Amalek Ps. Barnabas says in ch. 12, 2 (p. 25): ἵνα ποιήσῃ τύπον σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πάσχειν. So we have again the association in typology of Christ and Cross.

In the story of the brazen serpent (ch. 12, 5-7) mention is made of σημεῖον (ch. 12, 5), the pole on which the fiery serpent was to be set. In ch. 12, 7 this same pole is called ξύλον: ἐλθέτω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὸν ἐπὶ ξύλου ἐπικείμενον. Given the Septuagint translation of Numbers 21, 8 f. the use of σημεῖον is understandable¹ but that of ξύλον is hardly to be explained. The only satisfactory explanation appears to be the typological turn of thought displayed by Ps. Barnabas in chs. 11-12.²

Here too the Latin translator avoids the issue when translating in ch. 12, 7³: '*Cum aliquis ex vobis morsus fuerit, veniat ad colubram et speret . . .*', in other words, the expression τὸν ἐπὶ ξύλου ἐπικείμενον is left untranslated.

Summing-up: For the choice of ξύλον as a term for the cross of our Lord we have established:

1. In ch. 8, 5: ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ ξύλῳ and in ch. 8, 1. 5: τὸ ἔριον τὸ κόκκινον ἐπὶ (τὸ) ξύλον a reference to Numbers 19, 6.
2. In ch. 11, 8 the interpretation of ξύλον from Ps. 1, 3 transformed into a *testimonium crucis*.
3. In ch. 12, 1 the word ξύλον in the so-called Scriptural quotation intended to refer to the Cross.

The choice of ξύλον in ch. 5, 13 and ch. 12, 7 cannot be linked with any particular text from the Old Testament, although it is striking that the expression ἐπὶ (τοῦ) ξύλου occurs in both instances. None the less here too the use of ξύλον can be explained:

5, 13: As we have already remarked, the formula ἔδει γάρ, ἵνα ἐπὶ ξύλου πάθῃ helps to create the impression that this was a fixed theme in the Christian kerygma, even by its wording. We base our impression upon the emphasis with which the risen Christ himself, according to St. Luke, proved to the disciples of Emmaus, with the help of texts from

¹ We shall return to this text in the second chapter, on p. 133 f.

² Cf. J. DANIELLOU in *Judéo-Christianisme* (*loc. cit.*): 'L'application au Christ crucifié est soulignée par le choix du mot ξύλον.'

³ J. M. HEER, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms, that Christ had to suffer, that He had to suffer this ¹, as well as on the emphasis with which this theme is stressed in the preaching of the Apostles.² We find an echo of this in the *Testimonia* of Cyprian ³ where under the title: '*Quod cruci illum fixuri essent Iudaei*' ten texts from the Old Testament (including Ps. 118, 120 and Is. 65, 2) are quoted as *testimonia*. It seems probable that this fixed theme in the primitive kerygma was also expressed by a more or less constant formula.⁴ In this formula, as appears from Acts 5, 30; 10, 39; 13, 29, the term ξύλον would have been entirely appropriate.

12, 7: In the story of the brazen serpent the term ξύλον is used as a reference to the Cross. Here too the context does not provide sufficient explanation for the use of this word. It may be, however, that the typological orientation of Ps. Barnabas, especially as expressed in ch. 11 and ch. 12 with regard to the Cross, provides sufficient motivation for the use of ξύλον for a figure of the Cross.

In the passages of Ps. Barnabas quoted it becomes evident that his Bible exegesis consisted chiefly in the quotation of texts from the Old Testament to which he could attribute a typological explanation with reference to Christ. He emphasizes this deliberately after the *testimonium* of the brazen serpent in ch. 12, 7 (p. 25 f.): ἔχεις πάλιν καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα καὶ εἰς αὐτόν.

The Shepherd of Hermas

In *the Shepherd of Hermas* σταυρός is only mentioned once, viz. *Vis.* III, 2, 1 ⁵ where reference is made to the tortures endured by Christians for the sake of the Name: μάστιγας, φυλακὰς, θλίψεις μεγάλας, σταυρούς, θηρία. Here σταυρός is one of the many tortures and has no connection with the cross of our Lord.

The word ξύλον does not occur as a term for the cross of Christ.

¹ Cf. Lk. 24, 26. 44. 46.

² Cf. among others, Acts 3, 18; 13, 29.

³ *Test.* II, 20 (*ed. cit.* p. 87 f.).

Cf. also *The Preaching of Peter* (Κήρυγμα Πέτρου), *ed.* E. KLOSTERMANN (Kleine Texte 3), Bonn 1908², p. 15 f.: καθὼς ἐγγράπτο ταῦτα πάντα, ἃ ἔδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν. Likewise Justin, *Dial.* 106, 1 and Melito of Sardis, *Hom.* 75 f, who uses five times the word ἔδει.

⁴ E.g. Acts 5, 30 f.; 10, 39 f.

⁵ M. WHITTAKER, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, Berlin 1956 (GCS 48), p. 9. Hermas is everywhere quoted according to text and page in this edition.

To Diognetus

The word σταυρός does not occur in the treatise *to Diognetus*.¹ On the other hand, in ch. 12 (p. 80 ff.) ξύλον is found as often as six times to refer either to those called by God (ch. 12, 1): πάγκαρπον ξύλον (cf. Ps. 1, 3) or to the tree of Knowledge and the tree of Life (ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς).

The expression παράδεισος τρυφῆς (cf. Gen. 3, 24) in ch. 12, 1 leads the writer in ch. 12, 2 to the tree of Knowledge and the tree of Life, and this again in ch. 12, 3 to the text from Gen. 2, 9. By planting them close together God wished to show us that Life comes only through Knowledge: 'No Life (ζωή) without Knowledge (γνώσις) and no sure Knowledge without true Life' (ch. 12, 4).

There is no evidence in this treatise of any connection between ξύλον as the tree of Life and the Cross, such as we find in Justin's *Dialogue* 86, 1 or between the tree of Knowledge and the Cross (antithetical) as it is clearly expressed in Irenaeus' *adv. Haer.* V, 17, 3 etc. and *Dem.* 34.

However, since the association of the tree of Knowledge and the tree of Life is a theme which Clement of Alexandria does connect with the Cross,² it seemed worthwhile to draw attention to this passage in *to Diognetus*.³

2. *The Apologists*

Aristo of Pella

The first text deserving of mention in connection with our research is from the work of Aristo of Pella. In his commentary on Gal. 3, 13 Jerome⁴ quotes a text from Aristo's *Discussion between Jason and Papiscus concerning Christ*, viz.: λοιδορία Θεοῦ ὁ κρεμάμενος. Aristo is evidently quoting here Deut. 21, 23, not according to the Septuagint, but according to a textual reading such as we also find in Aquila and Theodotion: κατὰρα Θεοῦ κρεμάμενος.⁵ We have every reason to assume that Aristo quoted this text in connection with the crucifixion of Christ.

¹ H.-I. MARROU, *A Diognète. Introduction, Édition critique, Traduction et Commentaire*, Paris 1951 (SC 33). Texts from '*to Diognetus*' are quoted according to the textual reading and page in this edition.

² Cf. *Strom.* V, ch. 11 (72, 2); see p. 66.

³ Cf. also the treatment of the theme ξύλον τῆς γνώσεως in Theophilus of Antioch, *ad Autolycum* II, 25 (CAC VIII, p. 124).

⁴ CAC IX, p. 357 (PL 26, c. 387)

⁵ Cf. F. FIELD, *op. cit.* I, p. 304.

Had this discussion between a Palestinian Jew turned Christian and an Alexandrian Jew been preserved in its entirety, we would undoubtedly possess fuller data (cf. Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*) relating to the cross of Christ.¹

Justin Martyr

We find, indeed, more data in the works of Justin,² especially in his *Dialogue with Trypho*. This can be explained by the fact that in this dialogue Justin tries, with the help of Scriptural quotations from the Old Testament, to prove to a Jew that Christ is the awaited Messiah; subsequently that this Messiah was destined to suffer, and that the figures and predictions of this suffering were fulfilled in the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth.

In his *first Apology* too Justin refers not only to visual symbols of the Cross (55, 2-8), but also to predictions from the Old Testament (35, 2-7) and to the figure of the brazen serpent (60, 2-5).

In his first *Apology* and in his *Dialogue* Justin employs respectively 5 and 18 times the term σταυρός in connection with the cross of Christ.

In order to give an idea of this usage we shall resume, as briefly as possible, the instances in which this term occurs. Justin employs:

τύπος τοῦ σταυροῦ:

1. Of the σημεῖον of the brazen serpent (Numb. 21, 8 f.) in *I Apol.* 60, 3.5 (p. 69).
2. Of the κέρατα μονοκέρωτος from Deut. 33, 17 in *Dial.* 91, 2 (p. 205).
3. Of Moses' attitude of prayer in Israel's struggle against Amalek (Ex. 17, 11f.) in *Dial.* 111, 1-2 (p. 227).

σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ:

1. Of the human figure in *I Apol.* 55, 4 (p. 66).
2. Of the manner in which the paschal lamb was spit, in *Dial.* 40, 3 (p. 137).
3. Of Moses' attitude of prayer in the struggle against Amalek in *Dial.* 90, 4 (p. 204).
4. Of the κέρατα μονοκερώτων from Ps. 21, 22 in *Dial.* 105, 2 (p. 221).

¹ Cf. Origen's remarks in *Contra Celsum* IV, 52 (Origenes I, p. 325) about the contents of this discussion: ... βιβλίον, ἐν ᾧ ἀναγέγραπται Χριστιανὸς Ἰουδαίῳ διαλεγόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραφῶν καὶ δεικνὺς τὰς περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προφητείας ἐφαρμόζειν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

² Justin is everywhere quoted according to text and page in the edition of EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, Göttingen 1914.

σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ:

1. Of Moses' attitude of prayer in the struggle against Amalek in *Dial.* 90, 5 (p. 204).
 2. Of the pole on which the brazen serpent was set in *Dial.* 94, 2 (p. 209).
- σύμβολον τοῦ πάθους τοῦ σταυροῦ: Of the manner of sacrificing the paschal lamb in *Dial.* 40, 3 (p. 137).

μυστήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ:

1. Of the *κέρατα μονοκέρωτος* from Deut. 33, 17 in *Dial.* 91, 1 (p. 205): *μηνύων τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ σταυροῦ.*¹
2. Without any direct reference to the Old Testament in *Dial.* 131, 2 (p. 252).
3. Justin says in *Dial.* 134, 5 (p. 257): Through His Blood and the mystery of His cross (*δι' αἵματος καὶ μυστηρίου τοῦ σταυροῦ*) Christ has claimed us as His possession.
4. In *Dial.* 138, 2 (p. 260) the salvation brought by the ark of Noah is compared with the Salvation brought by the wood of the Cross: *διὰ ξύλου . . . τοῦ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔχοντος.*

δύναμις τοῦ σταυροῦ: In *1 Apol.* 35, 2 (p. 50) Justin sees in the text of Isaiah 9, 5 (LXX): *οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων* an indication of *ἡ δύναμις τοῦ σταυροῦ*.

σταυρός (without any attribute):

1. Of Moses' attitude of prayer Justin says in *Dial.* 90, 4 (p. 204): *διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἴσχυεν.*
2. Justin introduces Psalm 21 in *Dial.* 97, 3 (p. 211) as follows: *Δαυὶδ . . . εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν εἶπεν.*
3. The phrase from Ps. 21, 17: *ὥρυξάν μου χεῖρας καὶ πόδας* is according to Justin (*1 Apol.* 35, 7; p. 50) a prediction of the nailing to the Cross.
4. The *δουλεία μέχρι σταυροῦ* from *Dial.* 134, 5 (p. 257) is probably inspired by Phil. 2, 8: *ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ.*
5. Christ gave up the ghost on the Cross (*Dial.* 105, 5; p. 222): *ἀποδίδους τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ.*
6. Christ is taken down from the Cross (*Dial.* 108, 2; p. 227): *ἀφῆλυνθεις ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ.*

¹ In ch. 97, 4 (p. 212) and ch. 106, 1 (p. 222) mention is made of respectively *διὰ . . . μυστηρίου . . . τοῦ σταυρωθῆναι* and *διὰ . . . μυστηρίου τοῦ σταυρωθέντος.*

Just as for Ps. Barnabas σταυρός appears for Justin to be the usual term for the cross of Christ. He uses this term in explanation or clarification of a deeper meaning or symbolism in word or gesture. Thus: τύπος, σχῆμα, σημεῖον, σύμβολον, μυστήριον, δύναμις τοῦ σταυροῦ.

Justin is the only one among the Apologists in whose work the word σταυρός occurs. As appears from this survey he uses it only in connection with Christ's cross.

This exclusive use in connection with Christ's cross does not hold good for ξύλον. Justin three times employs ξύλον in a quotation from the Old Testament in the meaning of tree: in *I Apol.* 40, 9 (quotation from Ps. 1, 3), in *Dial.* 14, 7 (quotation from Is. 55, 12), more particularly of the tree of Life in *Dial.* 81, 2f. (quotation from Is. 65, 22). This last passage is moreover interesting in relation to Justin's ideas concerning the Millennium.¹

Rather less obvious is ξύλον in *II Apol.* 3, 1 (p. 80): καὶ γὰρ οὖν προσδοκῶ ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ὀνομασμένων ἐπιβουλευθῆναι καὶ ξύλῳ ἐμπαγῆναι. If we consider this text in the light of what has gone before, where Justin told of the imprisonment and martyrdom of Ptolemy and Lucius (*II Apol.* 2, 9–20), it is probable that he is referring to a torture. It is, however, impossible to say for certain, if the reference is to crucifixion. As far as we know the expression ξύλῳ ἐμπαγῆναι does not occur anywhere else.²

In the remaining passages in which Justin employs ξύλον he does establish a connection between this term and the cross of Christ.

Dial. 72, 2 (p. 182): At the request of Trypho, Justin quotes certain texts from the Old Testament, in which the Jews, according to Justin, mutilated the text. The second passage that Justin quotes is from Jer. 11, 19: δεῦτε, ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ. Justin admits (72, 3) that the text quoted may still be found in some Jewish copies, since the cut is of recent date. He attributes the following motive to this mutilation (*loc. cit.*): 'from these words of Jeremiah too it appears that

¹ Cf. for Justin's ideas on the Millennium *Dial.* 80, 5–81, 4.

² Comparable is *I Apol.* 35, 7 (p. 50): ὠρυξάν μου χεῖρας καὶ πόδας (Ps. 21, 17) as an elucidation of τῶν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ παγέντων . . . ἥλων.

J. C. TH. OTTO, *Justin's Opera I*, 1, Jena 1847², p. 290 expresses himself more positively: 'Multis modis interpretati sunt ξύλῳ ἐμπαγῆναι quod haud dubie crucis (de hac autem Justinus persaepe illo vocabulo utitur) supplicium denotat in Christianos illo tempore valde usitatum'.

the Jews would decide to have Jesus put to death on the Cross (ἀναιρεῖν αὐτὸν σταυρώσαντες βουλευσάμενοι).

Thus, basing his argument on the use of ξύλον in the Septuagint, Justin assumed that hereby the crucifixion had been predicted, and attributed, wrongly as it happens, the mutilation of this passage to the Jews.¹

This interpretation of Jer. 11, 19, which we meet for the first time in Justin, is evidently a traditional theme. Melito of Sardis² also quotes Jer. 11, 19 as a prediction of the passion on the Cross (τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου μυστήριον). We find the same interpretation in Tertullian,³ Cyprian⁴ and Origen.⁵

In the main, modern exegetes interpret this text of Jeremiah differently. In contrast to the Massoretic Text and the Septuagint they read (in the Hebrew text) *bēlēhō* i.e. 'in its sap', instead of *bēlahmō* i.e. 'in its bread'⁶ and translate: 'come, let us destroy the tree in its sap/in its strength'.⁷

Important from our point of view is that ξύλον in Jer. 11, 19 is linked with the cross of Christ by Justin, and also, as appears from Melito, Tertullian, Cyprian and Origen, by Christian writers of the second and third centuries.

Dial. 73, 1-2 (p. 182f.): In this passage Justin gives another example of Jewish textual mutilation, namely in Psalm verse 95, 10. According to him, the Jews omitted the last three words of the verse: εἶπατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου.⁸

In fact these three words are not found in any Hebrew or early Greek MS. Only the *psalterium Veronense* (6th century), in which the Greek is

¹ Cf. F. C. BURKITT, *Justin Martyr and Jeremiah 11, 19*, in JThS 33 (1932) p. 371 ff.

² *Hom.* 63 (CAMPBELL BONNER, p. 129).

³ *Adv. Marc.* III, 19, 3 (p. 533).

⁴ *Test.* II, 20 (p. 88).

⁵ *Hom.* 10, 2 in *Jeremiam* (Origenes III, p. 72).

⁶ Cf. L. DENNEFELD in *Jérémie (La Sainte Bible VII)*, Paris 1946, p. 279. Also A. GELIN in *Jérémie (La Bible de Jérusalem)*, 1959², p. 79.

⁷ L. DENNEFELD (*loc. cit.*): 'Détruisons l'arbre dans sa sève'.

A. GELIN (*loc. cit.*): 'Détruisons l'arbre dans sa vigueur'.

ARTHUR WEISER in: *Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia*, Göttingen 1959³, p. 100: 'Lasst uns den Baum in seinem Saft vernichten'.

F. C. BURKITT (*art. cit.*) on the contrary, proposes the following translation (p. 373): 'Come and let us make trouble his food'.

⁸ In *I Apol.* 41, 4 (p. 55) Justin also quotes Ps. 95, 10 in its longer recension: εὐφρανθήτωσαν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου.

transcribed in Latin letters, gives the reading: 'apo xylu' (without the article). It is remarkable that, except for Justin, we do not find this textual reading in any of the Greek Fathers,¹ although one would assume from Ps. Barnabas 8, 5 that he too is familiar with this textual reading.² We do, however, find this reading of the text in several of the Latin Fathers. We refer only to Tertullian³: 'Age nunc, si legisti penes David: "Dominus regnavit a ligno", exspecto, quid intellegas', to the *psalterium Romanum*⁴: 'Dicite in nationibus: Dominus regnavit a ligno'; to Venantius Fortunatus' hymn 'Vexilla regis'⁵: '... dicendo nationibus: regnavit a ligno Deus'. It is in this way that this longer textual reading has come to be incorporated in the Roman liturgy of the Mass.⁶

Although Justin's text gives no indication of being in any way dependent on Ps. Barnabas 8, 5, the trend of thought which inspired Ps. Barnabas and Justin is nevertheless the same.⁷

As far as ξύλον is concerned, we note here the strange phenomenon that in Ps. 95, 10 Justin saw a clear prediction of the Cross (cf. ch. 73, 2), a prediction which in reality does not exist since the words ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου must be considered as a Christian interpolation.

However, from the fact that Justin was convinced that he was giving the authentic reading of Ps. 95, 10 we may deduce that this version was the customary one in Justin's milieu.⁸ Moreover, it is evident from *Dial.* 73, 2: περὶ τοῦτου μόνου τοῦ σταυρωθέντος that Justin interpreted the supposed ξύλον in connection with the cross of Christ and this is what is important for our research.

¹ Cf E PANNIER-H RENARD, *Les Psaumes (La Sainte Bible V)*, Paris 1950², p. 521.

² Cf P PRIGENT, *op cit*, p 113 How this author can deduce, however, from Origen's *Contra Celsum* VI, 36 (Origenes II, p 105 f) that Origen was familiar with this longer recension is not clear to us

³ *Adv Marc* III, 19, 1 (p. 533), *adv Iud.* 10, 11 (p 1378), 13, 11 (p 1386)

⁴ R WEBER, *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins* (Collectanea Biblica Latina X), Rome 1953, p 237

⁵ Derived from G M DREVES-CL BLUME, *Ein Jahrtausend lateinischer Hymnendichtung I*, Leipzig 1909, p 38

⁶ Cf the first alleluia verse on the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross (3rd May) *Dicite in gentibus, quia Dominus regnavit a ligno*

⁷ It does not seem to us necessary to explain the addition ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου as do PANNIER-RENARD (*loc. cit*) under influence of Ps 95, 12b. τότε ἀγαλλιάσονται πάντα τὰ ξύλα τοῦ δρυμοῦ

⁸ Cf. J DANIÉLOU, *Judéo-Christianisme*, p 111 Also MARCEL SIMON, *Verus Israel*, Paris 1948, p. 185.

Dial. 86 (p. 199f.) Chapter 86 of the Dialogue must be considered as the *locus classicus* concerning ξύλον in Justin, for mention is made here of a series of *testimonia ligni*. The first sentence of this chapter, however, is not clear. As we assume that this sentence forms the introduction to the series of *testimonia* (cf. the word ἀκούσατε), its interpretation appears to be of primary importance. For this reason we shall deal with it in greater detail.

The Greek text reads as follows:

καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν προσέθηκα· ὅτι δέ, μετὰ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι τοῦτον ὃν ἐνδοξον πάλιν παραγενήσεσθαι ἀποδεικνύουσιν αἱ γραφαί, σύμβολον εἶχε τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, ὃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ πεφυτεῦσθαι ἐλέλεκτο, καὶ τῶν γενησομένων πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις, ἀκούσατε.

The lack of clarity in this sentence regards the following points:

1. With what must μετὰ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι τοῦτον be linked?
2. Who or what is a σύμβολον τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς?
3. What is the exact meaning of σύμβολον?
4. To what do the words καὶ τῶν γενησομένων πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις refer?

To begin with we have compared the existing translations. In order to form ourselves a correct opinion of the interpretation of the four points above-mentioned in the various translations, it was necessary to quote these translations in their entirety.

That of J. C. Th. Otto ¹: 'His recitatis adieci: Quem autem Scripturae rursus gloriose, postquam crucifixus fuisset, venturum demonstrant, illius symbolum fuisse tum lignum vitae, quod dictum fuerat in paradiso plantatum fuisse, tum ea, quae omnibus iustis eventura erant, audite'.²

That of G. Archambault ³: 'Après quoi j'ajoutai: Les Écritures nous montrent donc qu'après avoir été crucifié il doit revenir à nouveau dans la gloire; écoutez comment ce Jésus a eu pour symbole l'arbre de Vie qui, il est dit, fut planté dans le paradis, ainsi que les événements qui devaient arriver à tous les justes'.⁴

That of Ph. Häuser ⁵: 'Nach diesen Worten fuhr ich fort: Ver-

¹ *Justini Opera Graece et Latine I*, 2, Jena 1848², p. 298. The third edition was not available.

² The translation of PR. MARAN in PG 6, c. 679 is nearly the same as that of OTTO.

³ *Justin, Dialogue avec Tryphon II* (Textes et Documents 8, 2), Paris 1909, p. 63.

⁴ The recent translation of A. HAMMAN in *La philosophie passe au Christ. L'oeuvre de Justin* (Ichthys 3), Paris 1958, p. 270 is identical with that of ARCHAMBAULT.

⁵ *Justinus, Dialog mit dem Juden Tryphon* (BKV 33), Kempten 1917, p. 142.

nehmet: auf den, welcher gekreuzigt worden war, um, wie die Schrift zeigt, in Herrlichkeit wiederzukommen, verwies geheimnisvoll das Holz des Lebens, das, wie berichtet ist, im Paradies gepflanzt wurde, und die Geschichte aller Gerechten'.

That of A. L. Williams ¹: 'When I had said this I added: Learn also that He whom the Scriptures show as about to come again in glory after being crucified had the type of the tree of Life, which it was said was planted in Paradise, and also of the events that are to happen to all the righteous'.²

We shall confine our discussions to the four above-mentioned points.

1. Otto, Archambault and Williams make μετά τὸ σταυρωθῆναι τοῦτον subordinate to παραγενήσεσθαι: He shall come again in glory after His crucifixion. Häuser links both verbs in a final clause: He was crucified in order to come again.

Häuser disregards μετά with the Accusative and Infinitive construction. The others forget that the relative clause ὃν . . . γραφαί is grammatically subordinate to μετά τὸ σταυρωθῆναι τοῦτον and not the other way round. In our opinion μετά τὸ σταυρωθῆναι τοῦτον can only be linked grammatically with ὅτι δέ . . . σύμβολον εἶχε whereby the comma after ὅτι δέ should be omitted.³ The sentence then reads as follows: ἀκούσατε, ὅτι μετά τὸ σταυρωθῆναι τοῦτον . . . σύμβολον εἶχε i.e. after His crucifixion He had a symbol of the tree of Life.⁴

2. From the combination μετά τὸ σταυρωθῆναι τοῦτον . . . σύμβολον εἶχε it follows that the cross of Christ (or perhaps the crucified Christ) was a symbol of the tree of Life.⁵ In the translations quoted the tree of Life is

¹ *Justin Martyr, The Dialogue with Trypho* (SPCK), London 1930, p. 182.

² In the same line the translations of A. C. COXE, *Dialogue of Justin, Philosopher and Martyr, with Trypho, a Jew* (ANF I), New York 1905, p. 242 and of TH. B. FALLS, *St. Justin Martyr* (The Fathers of the Church), New York 1948, p. 285.

³ This is the punctuation observed by MARAN (PG 6, c. 679). It is, however, curious that MARAN (*loc. cit.*) writes: μετά τὸ σταυρωθῆναι: *manifestum est haec verba referri ad ea quae sequuntur, nempe πάλιν παραγενήσεσθαι*.

⁴ The construction μετά with the Accusative and Infinitive is not unusual in Justin, even when the subjects are the same. So, for instance, in *Dial.* 107, 1 (p. 223): ὅτι μετά τὸ σταυρωθῆναι αὐτὸν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται and *Dial.* 17, 1 (p. 109): μετά γὰρ τὸ σταυρωσῶσα ὑμᾶς ἐκείνον . . . οὐ μόνον οὐ μετενοήσατε . . .

⁵ Our opinion concurs with the marginal note in both *codices* (A and B): οἶμαι σύμβολον ἔχοντα τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς

MARAN (*loc. cit.*) translates this marginal note as follows: '*Videtur mihi dicere Christum rediturum habere crucem ut signum ligni vitae*', whereby he then remarks: '*Haec nota . . . non videtur hominis esse hunc locum intelligentis*'. We wonder whether MARAN has himself understood the difficulty of this passage.

rather a symbol of Christ than of the Cross.¹ Moreover, in these translations the tree of Life points to Christ as a type, a pre-figuration, whereas in our opinion the Cross primarily refers back to the tree of Life.² Is this meaning of σύμβολον possible?

3. In order to verify this meaning of σύμβολον in Justin we have sought for material of comparison.³ In *Dial.* 90, 5 (p. 205) Justin reverts incidentally to a favourite theme when he remarks with reference to the stone upon which Moses was seated during the struggle of Israel against Amalek (cf. Ex. 17, 20): ὁ λίθος σύμβολον ἔχει πρὸς τὸν Χριστόν: the 'stone' has a symbolic meaning with regard to Christ (cf. *Dial.* 86, 3).

In *Dial.* 112, 1-2 (p. 228) Justin mentions the setting up of the brazen serpent (cf. Numbers 21, 8f.) and then continues: 'Should we not explain this symbolically (σύμβολα)? Should we not associate this sign (τὸ σημεῖον) with the image of the crucified Jesus (οὐχὶ δὲ ἀνοίσομεν ἐπὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ τὸ σημεῖον)? It is clear from this text that for Justin σύμβολον indicates a reference to something else.

In *Dial.* 138, 1 (p. 260) Justin sees in Noah and his family, eight persons in all, who were saved in the ark, a reference to the eighth day (... σύμβολον εἶχον τῆς ... ὀγδόης ἡμέρας).

It appears from these examples that σύμβολον in Justin has the meaning of a reference to something else. It is, moreover, clear from the first example that this reference is not automatically linked with time, that is to say, it is not necessarily a pointer from the past to the future or vice versa.

¹ In view of their translations the remarks of ARCHAMBAULT (*loc. cit.*): 'l'arbre de Vie symbolise l'arbre de la Croix' and of WILLIAMS (*loc. cit.*): 'The crucifixion with its consequent glory was prefigured from the first in the tree of Life' are somewhat surprising.

² The symbolism of the Cross as the tree of Life stresses the retrospective aspect: it refers back to the tree of Life in Paradise. Usually the point of view is prospective: from the type to the fulfilment (antitype).

Cf. also R. BORNERT, *L'arbre de Vie*, in: 'La célébration de la sainte Croix dans le rite byzantin', in LMD 75 (1963) p. 104.

³ It is remarkable that σύμβολον does not occur at all in early Christian literature before Justin (neither in the New Testament nor in the Apostolic Fathers). It occurs only three times in the Septuagint, namely in Hosea 4, 12 and Wisdom 2, 9; 16, 6. In Wisdom 16, 6 σύμβολον σωτηρίας: 'a saving symbol', is used of the sign of the brazen serpent, associated with the Cross by Christ Himself (Jn. 3, 14). Outside Justin it only occurs once in the Apologists as compiled in EDG. J. GOODSPEED'S *Index Apologeticus*, Leipzig 1912, namely in Athenagoras' *Supplicatio* 20, 3. In Justin, on the other hand, we find it used 24 times.

It is even possible to wonder whether the bilateral character originally inherent in the meaning of σύμβολον a mutual relation (συν – βάλλειν) between two things was completely obscured for Justin. We are thinking of the double use of σύμβολον in *Dial* 111, 4 (p 228) τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ κοκλίνου σπαρτίου ὁμοίως τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδῆλου and of ὕδωρ, πίστις, ξύλον in *Dial* 138, 2 (p 260) as symbols (σύμβολα) both for Noah and for Christianity.

So in σύμβολον τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς we see the Cross as referring to the tree of Life in Paradise. At the same time the prospective aspect of the reference is not excluded.

4. The last point to interpret is καὶ τῶν γενησομένων πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις. We have sought in vain¹ for a clarifying remark in commentary or translation. No one, evidently, perceives any difficulty here. From ἀκούσατε it is obvious that there must be some connection between this introductory sentence and the series of *testimonia* which follows. It is then remarkable that the first *testimonia* are not centred so much on the concept ξύλον as upon the persons of Moses and Jacob. So far as we can see the only acceptable interpretation is to apply πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις to the persons from the Old Testament who are then to be named. In addition we should prefer to replace γενησομένων by γενομένων.²

After these preliminary remarks the following translation seems to us justified. 'When I had said this I added. Learn that He who, as it is said in the Scriptures will come again in glory, after His crucifixion possessed a symbol of the tree of Life, which is said was planted in Paradise and (a symbol) of what happened to all the righteous.'

If this interpretation is correct, we find in Justin the first, and at the same time the only link between the cross of Christ and the tree of Life from Paradise (cf Gen 2, 9). This connection is attested neither in the New Testament nor in Ps Barnabas. We have, however, come across the metaphor of the tree of the Cross before, namely in Ignatius, *ad Trall* 11, 2.³

After this introductory sentence follows a list of *testimonia* from the Old Testament, in which the central idea is 'wood'. Before judging the whole, however, we must first review these *testimonia* one by one.

¹ The only exception is TH B FALLS (*loc cit*), who refers to Gen 28, 12 ff., 30, 31 ff (Jacob), Ex 4, 7, 14, 16 ff, 15, 23 ff, 17, 5 f (Moses).

² OTTO, *op cit*, p 299 mentions in footnote 1 to *Dial* 86 1 *pro* γενησομενων THIRLBIUS *legi* γενομένων *mallet*.

³ See p 20.

1. First of all Justin mentions (86, 1) the person of Moses who performed the following miracles (σημεῖα) with the rod (ῥάβδος) with which he was sent to free the Jewish people (cf. Ex. 4, 17; 14, 16):
 - a. The passage through the Red Sea (Ex. 14, 16; cf. *Dial.* 138, 2).
 - b. The water that flowed from the rock (Ex. 17, 5f.; Numbers 20, 8ff.).
 - c. In addition, Justin mentions that Moses, at God's command, threw wood (ξύλον) into the bitter water of Marah, so that the water became sweet (Ex. 15, 23ff.; cf. *Dial.* 131, 3).
2. Secondly Justin (86, 2) mentions the patriarch Jacob, concerning whom he gives the following details:
 - a. The rods (ῥάβδοι) that Jacob ¹ cast into the watering troughs of Laban (Gen. 30, 37ff.).
 - b. The staff (ῥάβδος) with which Jacob crossed the Jordan (Gen. 32, 11).
 - c. Jacob's ladder (κλίμαξ) (Gen. 28, 12f.).

The application to the Cross of these details, notably *a* and *b*, may appear to us a little forced but can possibly be explained as follows: the staff (ῥάβδος) of Moses (who should really follow Jacob chronologically but of whom the typological character, as evident from early Christian literature, was so much more vivid), led Justin to look for other *testimonia* in which ῥάβδος is mentioned.

It is noteworthy that while *a* and *b* are not mentioned in connection with the cross of Christ in any of the texts pertaining to our research, the Jacob's ladder is. We shall return to this point when discussing Irenaeus.²

That Justin here loses track of his main argument appears from the fact that, after speaking of Jacob's ladder, he mentions the setting up and anointing of the altar at Bethel (Gen. 28, 18 ff.) and proceeds from this to enlarge upon Christ as λίθος and χρῖσμα (86, 4).

3. As his next *testimonium* Justin mentions (86, 4) the rod (ῥάβδος)

¹ In *Dial.* 140, 1 (p. 262) Justin sees Jacob as a type of Christ. In *Dial.* 134, 5 (p. 257) this idea is elaborated: just as Jacob was subservient to Laban for the sake of spotted lambs, so was Christ obedient unto the Cross for the sake of many-coloured and multifarious peoples (ὕπερ τῶν . . . ποικίλων καὶ πολυειδῶν ἀνθρώπων).

Cf. J. DANIÉLOU, *Message évangélique et culture hellénistique aux 2e et 3e siècles (Histoires des doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée II)*, Tournai – Paris 1961, p. 193. Henceforth this work will be cited as: *Message*.

² See p. 64 f.

which indicated that Aaron should be high priest (Numbers 17, 16ff.).

4. Justin then (*ibid.*) quotes Is. 11, 1, where Christ is thought to be referred to in the branch (ράβδος) which grew from the root of Jesse.
5. After this Justin quotes (*ibid.*) Ps 1, 3, where the just man is compared to τὸ ξύλον πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων. We have already discussed this verse with reference to Ps. Barnabas 11, 6 ff.¹ Like the psalmist Justin sees in the ξύλον an image of the just man.
6. The comparison of the just man with τὸ ξύλον πεφυτευμένον brings Justin (*ibid.*) in a rambling way to a text from Ps. 91, 13, in which the righteous man is compared with a palm tree (φοῖνιξ).
7. In the example which now follows Justin (86, 5), as it were, stresses anew his starting-point: ἀπὸ ξύλου τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὥφθη ὁ Θεός and refers to the meeting by the oak (δρῦς) of Mamre (Gen. 18, 1).²
8. The idea of the living wood can also be the only reason why Justin (*ibid.*) mentions the 70 willows (λίεαι) by the 12 springs³ which the Jewish people found after the crossing of the Jordan (in mistake for the Red Sea).
9. Justin then quotes (*ibid.*) Ps. 22, 4: the rod (ράβδος) and the staff (βακτηρία), expressions of the support and comfort of Yahweh.
10. In the *testimonium* which now follows (86, 6): the wood (ξύλον) and the axe head of Elisha (2 Kings 6, 1ff.), the connection with the Cross is expressly stated. Christ redeemed us by His death on the wood of the Cross (ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου) and by purifying us through the water of baptism (δι' ὑδατος). Remarkable here is the link between Cross and Baptism, a link which we have already met in Ps. Barnabas 11.⁴ Justin is the first in whom we find this *testimonium* concerning Elisha quoted in connection with the Cross. As appears from later testimonies,⁵ the typological interpretation of this

¹ See p 23 f

² In *Hom.* XV, 2 from the collection 'Homélies inédites de saint Chromace d'Aquilée', published by J. LEMARIÉ in *Revue Bénédictine* 72 (1962) and attributed to Chromatius of Aquileia, we find also the oak of Mamre (Gen 18, 1) linked with the Cross (*op. cit* p 270): 'Vidit enim tunc Abraham futurum praefigurari mysterium, cum ei ad quercum Mambre, meri die, Dominus apparuit. In quercu enim illa Mambre crux Domini ostendebatur In umbra vero meridiana tempus passionis, quia hora sexta Dominus crucifixus est'.

³ So Justin. Ex 15, 27 and Numbers 33, 9 speak, however, of στελέχη φοινίκων

⁴ See p 23 f

⁵ Among others, Irenaeus, *adv Haer* V, 17, 4, fragm. 26, Tertullian, *adv Iud.* 13, 17-19.

episode from the life of Elisha found acceptance in early Christian literature.

- II. As his last *testimonium* Justin (*ibid.*) mentions the staff (ῥάβδος) which showed that Judah was the father of Tamar's child (Gen. 38, 25f.).

If we examine this series of *testimonia* we find that only in the case of the wood and axe-head of Elisha Justin does refer to Cross and Baptism.¹ Was it Justin's intention to give a type of the Cross in each particular case? We hardly think so. From a comparison of this series of *testimonia* with that of Tertullian² and of Cyprian³ it appears that this series of Justin's mentions not one of the ten *testimonia crucis* of Tertullian, nor of the eighteen *testimonia* of Cyprian. The only point of similarity linking the *testimonia* in this series, whether the subject be ξύλον, ῥάβδος, κλίμαξ, ἰτέα, φοῖνιξ, δρῦς, is that in each case we are concerned with wood (whether living or dead) with which a miraculous influence is thought to be associated; an influence such as that attributed to wood in Sirach 38, 5: οὐκ ἀπὸ ξύλου ἐγλυκάνθη ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ γνωσθῆναι τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ;⁴ So we may speak here of a series of *testimonia*, collected under the key-word 'wood'.⁵ This ἰσχὺς τοῦ ξύλου is also found in the *mysterium crucis*.⁶

Justin has also other *figurae crucis* mentioned separately in:

Dial. 91, 2 (p. 205): With reference to Deut. 33, 17 κέρατα μονοκέρωτος τὰ κέρατα αὐτοῦ Justin gives a description of the cross (σταυρός) according to its shape; it is formed by two beams (ξύλα); the upright beam (τὸ ὀρθιον ξύλον), to which the other is attached (προσηρμώσθη). Although we shall discuss this passage in another connection,⁷ it is worth-while to remark on the meaning of the terms: σταυρός is used for the whole, ξύλον for the parts. The choice of ξύλον is not determined here by a reference to the Old Testament, but inspired by a striving after clarity in wording.

¹ The addition ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπολύτρωσιν in the mention of the staff of Moses (*Dial.* 86, 1) may be intended as an allusion to the Redemption.

² *Adv. Marc.* III, 18-19.

³ *Test.* II, 20-22.

⁴ Cf. Justin, *I Apol.* 35, 2 (p. 50): ἡ δύναμις τοῦ σταυροῦ and *I Apol.* 55, 2 (p. 66): ἡ ἰσχὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ.

⁵ Cf. N. J. HOMMES, *Hel Testimoniaboek*, Amsterdam 1935, p. 81. PER BESKOW, *Rex Gloriorum*, Uppsala 1962, p. 82.

⁶ Cf. Justin's *Dial.* 138, 2 (p. 260): ... καὶ ξύλου τοῦ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔχοντος.

⁷ In discussing κέρας; see p. 100 f.

Dial. 96, 1 (p. 210): In a wording which corresponds to Gal. 3, 13: ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου Justin here quotes Deut. 21, 23 (τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τῷ Νόμῳ). This text, according to Justin (*ibid.*), accentuates our hope in the crucified Christ: ἡμῶν τονοῖ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐκκρεμαμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Χριστοῦ, since God predicted the malediction of Christ and the Christians by the Jews. In the ξύλον from Deut. 21, 23 Justin here sees a reference to the Cross.

Dial. 97, 1 (p. 211) In referring to Moses' attitude of prayer in the struggle against Amalek, one of the familiar types of the Cross, Justin also gives a typological explanation of the fact that Moses held his arms outstretched in prayer until the evening: the Lord too remained on the Cross (ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου) almost until evening. There seems to be no clear motive here for the use of ξύλον. It may perhaps be attributed to the whole tone and tendency of ch. 97 in which several *testimonia* from the Old Testament are quoted in connection with Christ's passion, death and burial. Or it may be inspired by the formula ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου which occurs several times in Scriptural texts¹ and thus sprang easily to mind.²

Dial. 138, 1-3 (p. 260f.): In ch. 138 for the first time in Justin, and as far as we know in early Christian literature, Noah's Ark is mentioned as a type of the Cross. Just as Noah was saved in the Ark (ἐν ξύλῳ διεσώθη) so are we saved δι' ὕδατος καὶ πίστεως καὶ ξύλου τοῦ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔχοντος.

We may rightly assume that Justin was influenced in his choice of the term ξύλον for Noah's Ark by the text of Gen. 6, 14 (Deluge): ποίησον οὖν σεαυτῷ κιβωτὸν ἐκ ξύλων τετραγώνων.³

Noah's Ark was for Justin a type of the Cross.⁴ In Patristic tradition

¹ Cf. Deut. 21, 23; Acts 5, 30; 10, 39; Gal. 3, 13.

² We remarked the same (on p. 30 f.) for the use of the formula ἐπὶ (τοῦ) ξύλου in Ps. Barnabas 5, 13 and 12, 7.

³ H. RAHNER, *Antenna Crucis III, Das Schiff aus Holz II*, ZKTh. 67 (1943), p. 6 thinks that Justin is influenced here by Ps. Barnabas 11-12. Although this possibility cannot be excluded, there are, in our opinion, no positive indications of any such influence. In the chapters in question Ps. Barnabas is not speaking of Noah's Ark. Moreover, nowhere in Justin do we find a quotation from or an evident reference to Ps. Barnabas. In our opinion Justin is influenced here either by an existing series of *testimonia* or directly by the text of Gen. 6, 14. That the term ξύλον for the Ark of Noah really existed, appears from the Book of Wisdom, namely Wisd. 10, 4: (ἡ σοφία) . . . δι' εὐτελοῦς ξύλου τὸν δίκαιον κυβερνήσασα; Wisd. 14, 7: εὐλόγηται γὰρ ξύλον, δι' οὗ γίνεται δικαιοσύνη.

⁴ So even in Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 17, 10 (PG 33, c. 982) and Ambrose, *De Mysteriis* III, 10 f. (SC 25 bis, p. 160).

it is usually seen as a type of the Church.¹ We find the two viewpoints combined in Augustine's *De civitate Dei* ²: '*Arca Noe . . . procul dubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc saeculo civitatis Dei, hoc est Ecclesiae, quae fit salva per lignum, in quo pependit mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus*'.

The combination of Cross and Baptism, which we have already met in Ps. Barnabas 11, 6–8, was also found in Justin's *Dial.* 86, 6 (with reference to 'the wood of Elisha' which sank in the water).

Summing-up: In resumé we may establish the following points: With the exception of most of the *testimonia* from *Dial.* 86 which in any case are not linked with the Cross in any of the texts we have still to examine, ξύλον in six of the nine passages in which it occurs in Justin's Dialogue, is used to refer to the cross of Christ or used as a type thereof. In five of these six cases ξύλον in an Old Testament text was instrumental in establishing a typological connection. Thus:

Dial. 72, 2 ξύλον in Jeremiah 11, 19

Dial. 73, 1–2 ξύλον in Justin's *recensio* of Ps. 95, 10

Dial. 86, 6 ξύλον in 2 Kings 6, 6 (Elisha)

Dial. 96, 1 ξύλον in Deut. 21, 23

Dial. 138, 1–3 ξύλον in Gen. 6, 14 (Deluge).

In *Dial.* 97, 1 there seems to be no self-evident motive for the use of ξύλον. The formula ἐπὶ (τοῦ) ξύλου is, however, Biblical, and it also occurs twice in Ps. Barnabas without any obvious motive.

It seems advisable to pass over the use of ξύλον in *Dial.* 91, 2 without comment.³

The word σταυρός does not occur in the other Apologists ⁴ nor do we find ξύλον employed in the meaning of cross. The explanation for this at first sight surprising phenomenon seems to lie in the fact that the Apologists intended their writings for pagan audiences and avoided as much as possible a subject so painful ⁵ to the ancient mind: the

¹ Among others, in Tertullian, *De baptismo* 8, 4 (p. 283); *De idol.* 24, 4 (p. 1124); Cyprian, *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate* 6 (p. 214).

Cf. J. DANÉLOU, *Sacramentum Futuri*, Paris 1950, p. 83; *Idem*, *Message*, p. 191 f.; H. RAHNER, *Antenna Crucis VII, Die Arche Noe als Schiff des Heils*, in ZKTh. 86 (1964), p. 137 ff.

² *De civ. Dei* XV, 26 (CC 38, p. 493; ed. B. DOMBART-A. KALB).

³ It is used only in elucidation, not for typological reasons.

⁴ I.e. Aristides of Athens, Tatianus Syrus, the fragments of Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Athenagoras of Athens and Theophilus of Antioch.

⁵ For the abhorrence of the cross and of death by crucifixion among both

crucifixion of our Redeemer. Even in Justin we may note a remarkable difference in his treatment of this point between his first Apology and his Dialogue.¹

3. *Melito of Sardis*

In his *Paschal homily* (or *Homily on the Passion*)² which is strongly typological in character (Christ our Paschal Lamb as the fulfilment of the Jewish Paschal lamb), it is evident that Melito avoided the word σταυρός.

That, on the other hand, he was familiar with the use of σταυρός is seen from the fragments XI and XII,³ which refer to a typological explanation of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22, 1 ff.): So in fragm. XI: τὸ φυτὸν Σαβὲκ ἀπέφαινε τὸν σταυρόν (cf. Gen. 22, 13), and fragm. XII: τὸ 'κατεχόμενος τῶν κεράτων' ὁ Σύρος καὶ ὁ 'Εβραῖος 'κρεμάμενος' φησιν, ὡς σαφέστερον τυποῦν τὸν σταυρόν . . . "Ὡσπερ τὸ φυτὸν Σαβὲκ ἐκάλεσε τὸν ἄγιον σταυρόν, . . . As the elucidation of a typology this use of σταυρός is in no way surprising (cf. Ps. Barnabas and Justin). The same, however,

pagans and Christians (in the first centuries), the reader is referred to Cicero, *Pro Rabirio* V, 16. 'nomen ipsius crucis absit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus' Seneca, *ad Luc. ep. mor.* 101, 13: 'Optat ultima malorum et quae pati gravissimum est, extendi ac sustineri cupit'.

Irenaeus, *Dem.* 56 (ACW 16, p. 84) 'For what was and is an ignominy for Him and because of Him for us, the Cross . . . ' Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 29, 6 (CSEL 2, p. 43). 'Cruces etiam nec colimus nec optamus' Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* IV, 26, 29 (CSEL 19, p. 382): 'Dicat enim fortasse aliquis. 'Cur, si Deus fuit et mori voluit, non saltem honesto aliquo mortis genere adfectus est? Cur infami genere supplicii, quod etiam homine libero quantumvis nocente videatur indignum?'

¹ In spite of this difference in treatment of the cross theme between Justin's first Apology and his Dialogue, Jerome nevertheless remarks in his *De viris illustribus* 23 (ed. W. HERDING, p. 25), speaking of Justin's first Apology. 'Justinus . . . pro religione plurimum laboravit, in tantum, ut Antonino quoque Pro et filius eius, et senatus librum contra Gentes scriptum daret ignominiamque crucis non erubesceret' Jerome does not give this testimony of any of the other Apologists.

² C. BONNER, *The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis* (Studies and Documents XII), London 1940. Melito is always quoted according to text, paragraph and page in this edition.

P. NAUTIN, *Le dossier d'Hippolyte et de Méliton* (Patristica I), Paris 1953, p. 83 and F. L. CROSS, *The early Christian Fathers* (Studies in Theology 57), London 1960, p. 114 prefer the title: *Homily or Treatise on the Pasch*.

Cf. also H. CHADWICK, *A Latin epitome of Melito's homily on the Pascha*, JThS, N.S. 11 (1960), p. 76-82.

³ Incorporated in EDG. J. GOODSPEED, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, p. 312 f.

cannot be said of the epithet ἅγιος used with σταυρός (fragm. XII). This may be attributed to the pious disposition of a later copyist.

On the other hand Melito employs the word ξύλον six times in his homily in connection with the cross of our Lord. In dealing with the *testimonia* of Christ's passion¹ he quotes after Deut. 28, 66 and after Ps. 2, 1 f., Jer. 11, 19 (63; p. 129), the passage with which we are familiar from Justin's Dial. 72, 2: δεῦτε, ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ. Melito quotes this *testimonium* without further explanation.² Jer. 11, 19 can be taken as referring to the passion of our Lord in general but it seems more likely, in view of the interpretation of Justin, Tertullian³ and Cyprian,⁴ that Melito too interpreted ξύλον as a prediction of the Cross.

Alluding to the manner in which the Jewish Paschal lamb was prepared (cf. Ex. 12, 10), Melito says of our Paschal Lamb, Christ (70; p. 133): ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου μὴ συντριβείς (cf. Jn. 19, 33. 36). The papyrus Bodmer XIII⁵ gives the reading: ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου κρεμασθεὶς.

In 95 (p. 155) Melito says in his description of the crucifixion: καὶ οὕτως ὑψοῦται ἐπὶ ξύλου ὑψηλοῦ.⁶

The word ξύλον occurs again in 96 (p. 157). In view of the pronounced antithetical character of this passage, so characteristic of Melito's homily, we give it in its entirety:

ὁ κρεμάσας τὴν γῆν κρέμαται,
ὁ πῆξας οὐρανοὺς πέπηγεν,
ὁ στηρίξας τὰ πάντα, ἐπὶ ξύλου ἐστήρικται.

In 97 (p. 159) there is mention of Christ hanging naked on the Cross: . . . τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου γεγυμνωμένον.

In 104 (p. 167) Christ's crucifixion is also mentioned: οὗτος ἐστὶν . . . ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου κρεμασθεὶς.

¹ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 26, 13 f. (Eusebius II, 1, p. 386 f.) mentions expressly that Melito made a collection of *testimonia*.

² In the introduction to these *testimonia* Melito does, however, speak of τὸ τοῦ Κυρίου μυστήριον and having quoted in addition Is. 53, 7 f. he sums up these *testimonia* as a proclamation of τὸ τοῦ Πάσχα μυστήριον.

³ *Adv. Marc.* III, 19, 3-4 (p. 533).

⁴ *Test.* II, 20 (p. 87).

⁵ MICHEL TESTUZ, *Méliton de Sardes, Homélie sur la Pâque* (Papyrus Bodmer XIII), Cologny-Genève 1960, p. 108.

⁶ Cf. the Johannine use of ὑψοῦν in Jn. 3, 14; 8, 28; 12, 32.

In five of these six cases (the quotation from Jeremiah being excepted), the word ξύλον is employed in the formula: ἐπὶ (τοῦ) ξύλου.¹

This impression concerning the use of ξύλον is also confirmed by the remaining fragments. So fragm. IX²: καὶ ὡς ἄμνός ἐσταυρώθη, καὶ ἐβάστασε τὸ ξύλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις αὐτοῦ ἀναγόμενος σφαγῆναι ὡς Ἰσαὰκ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

This is the first time in Christian tradition that Christ carrying His cross (ξύλον) is associated with the sacrifice of Isaac. Ps. Barnabas (7, 3), it is true, was also familiar with this typology but did not connect it in so many words with ξύλον.³ It is, indeed, surprising that Justin, in his many *figuræ crucis*, omits this particular typology. We shall come across it again in the works of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian.

In this connection a passage from a Jewish Midrash on Genesis is worth mentioning⁴: 'And Abraham took the wood of the burnt-offering (cf. Gen. 22, 6), like one who carries his stake on his shoulder', where a note is given in the commentary: 'the stake on which he is to be executed'.

In addition, the phrase: ὡς ἄμνός ἐσταυρώθη from this fragment can be linked with Justin, *Dial.* 40, 3 (p. 137) who sees in the manner in which the Jewish Paschal lamb was attached to the spit, a type of the crucifixion of the true Paschal Lamb. Melito's *Homily* 70 (p. 133): οὗτος ἐστιν . . . ὁ ἐπὶ ξύλου μὴ συντριβείς also contains, perhaps via Jn. 19, 33. 36, an allusion to Ex. 12, 10. 46: ὁστοῦν οὐ συντρίψετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Summing-up: Of the texts of Melito quoted here there are only two cases in which a link can be established between the cross of Christ and a ξύλον text from the Old Testament:

1. *Hom.* 63: δεῦτε, ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ, a quotation from Jer. 11, 19, employed in connection with the passion of Christ and presumably even in connection with the Cross.

¹ The frequent use of ξύλον in this formula may also serve to throw some light upon ἐπὶ (τοῦ) ξύλου in Ps. Barnabas 5, 13, 12, 7, Justin, *Dial.* 97, 1.

² EDG J. GOODSPEED, *op. cit.* p. 312, the fragments IX–XII refer to the sacrifice of Isaac.

³ Cf. ISABEL SPEYART VAN WOERDEN, *The iconography of the sacrifice of Abraham*, in VC 15 (1961) p. 214–255, esp. p. 251 f. where a list is given of the principal Patristic texts which refer to the sacrifice of Isaac.

⁴ *Midrash Rabbah on Genesis I*, ch. 56, 3, translated by H. FREEDMAN, London 1951, p. 493.

2. fragm. IX: Christ ἐβάστασε τὸ ξύλον is undoubtedly influenced by the text of Gen. 22, 6.

In the remaining cases we are again dealing with the formula ἐπὶ (τοῦ) ξύλου, already familiar from Ps. Barnabas and Justin.

So far as the Paschal homily is concerned, the following explanation for the use of ξύλον seems probable. The entire homily, called by F. L. Cross¹ 'a Christian Paschal Haggadah', possesses a pronounced typological character which finds expression in its construction: Christ our Paschal Lamb is the fulfilment of the Jewish Passover. In addition, Melito inserts in his homily a detailed consideration of the relation: foreshadowing (τύπος) – fulfilment (ἀλήθεια).² Moreover, his homily has so many points of contact with the Jewish-Christian climate of thought that the use of ξύλον is entirely to be expected. This argument is further strengthened by the absence of σταυρός in the homily, which seems more attributable to deliberate intent than to chance circumstances.

Moreover, there is the question of whether, in this literary *declamatorium*,³ the word ξύλον was not more fitting as a term for the cross of Christ than the 'hard' σταυρός. In other words, it is possible that literary (whether rhetorical or poetic) motives may also have played their part in the choice of the term ξύλον. These literary motives may have their root in the psychologically understandable tendency to sublimate the abhorrent aspect of the crucifixion even in the matter of vocabulary.

4. Irenaeus of Lyons

a. *Adversus Haereses*

In the Greek fragments and in the Latin translation of Irenaeus' *adversus Haereses*⁴ we find the terms σταυρός/*crux*, and ξύλον/*lignum* used many times. In discussing these terms, however, a distinction must be made between Irenaeus' rendering of Gnostic systems (mainly in

¹ In: F. L. CROSS, *The early Christian Fathers*, London 1960, p. 107. CROSS (*loc. cit.*) compares the Paschal homily (he himself prefers the title 'tract or treatise on the Pasch') with the Jewish Mishnah tractate *Pesachim* X, 5.

² *Hom.* 36–45 (p. 107–115).

³ In Jerome's *De viris illustribus* 24 (*ed. cit.* p. 26) Tertullian calls Melito's style 'elegant et declamatorium'.

⁴ Irenaeus' *adversus Haereses* is everywhere quoted according to text, chapter division, volume and page in the edition of W. W. HARVEY, *Sancti Irenaei libri quinque adversus Haereses*, Cambridge 1857, (2 vols.)

Book I) whereby he undoubtedly adopted the terminology of the Gnostics, and his own expositions in which his choice of words was more personal.

Book I: In his rendering of the doctrine of the Valentinians and of their argumentation, which is partly based on Scriptural texts, Irenaeus employs the word σταυρός twelve times.¹ In I, 1, 6 (I, p. 29 f.) especially, Irenaeus discusses in detail the function of Horos-Stauros. It is worth noting that in I, 1, 6 (I, p. 29, line 9) the Greek text gives Σταυρός while the Latin translation has *Salvator*. In the other places in I, 1, 6 the Latin *Crux* corresponds to the Greek Σταυρός.

In the system of the Valentinians Σταυρός is personified which presumably led to the translation of Σταυρός by *Salvator*. A few Scriptural texts in which σταυρός occurs, namely Lk 14, 27; Mk. 8, 34; 1 Cor. 1, 18; Gal. 6, 14 are used to lend support to their ideas.

In I, 19, 2 (I, p. 200) Irenaeus uses *crux* in the meaning of the cross of Christ when rendering Basilides' doctrine of Redemption: it was not Jesus who was crucified but Simon of Cyrene who was compelled to carry the Cross (... *angarium portasse crucem*) and was crucified in Jesus' shape.

In the rendering of the doctrine of the Marcosians² mention is made in I, 8, 7 (I, p. 140) of the disposition (οικονομία; Lat.: dispositio) on the sixth day (παρασκευή; Lat. *in coena pura*) on which the New Man appeared upon earth, and on the sixth hour, on which He was nailed to (the wood of) the Cross (προσηλώθη τῷ ξύλῳ; Lat.: *affixus est ligno*). Here ξύλον seems to be rather an explanatory addition than a Gnostic term.

On the other hand Ξύλον is certainly a Gnostic term in the system of the Barbeliots³ in I, 27, 1 (I, p. 224): ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἀνθρώπου καὶ τῆς Γνώσεως βεβλαστηκέναι Ξύλον· Γινώσιν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προσαγορεύουσιν. To the Greek Ξύλον corresponds the Latin *Lignum*.

¹ Notably in I, 1, 5. 6 (8 times). 7. 13. 16.

In I, 1, 3 (I, p. 18) the Greek text gives: τὸν δὲ Ὅρον καὶ Σουλτυρωτὴν ... καλοῦσιν; the Latin translation has: *'Horon vero hunc et Stauron et Lytrotēn ... vocant'*.

In I, 1, 5 (I, p. 24) the Greek text gives Στυλος which must be replaced by Σταυρός (cf. the enumeration in I, 1, 3; vol. I, p. 18); the Latin translation reads *Crux*.

² Followers of the Gnostic Marcus, himself a disciple of Valentinus.

³ A Gnostic Sect which spread from Egypt throughout Syria.

Book II: In Book II, 36, 2 (I, p. 339) where there is an ample discussion of the frequent occurrence of the number five in the Scriptures, mention is also made of the five extremities of the cross. This text is too interesting not to be quoted in its entirety: '*Et ipse habitus crucis fines et summitates habet quinque, duos in longitudine et duos in latitudine et unum in medio, in quo requiescit qui clavis affigitur*'. Here mention is made of a *sedilis excessus*, also spoken of by Justin¹ and Tertullian.²

The word ξύλον or *lignum* is not used of the Cross in Book II either.

Book III: Here the texts of interest for our research are again more frequent:

III, 12, 7 (II, p. 59): The Apostles did not announce to the Jews a Messiah in accordance with Jewish ideas: '*... quem hominem viderant Iudaei, et cruci affixerant, annuntiari hunc esse Christum, Filium Dei*'. Had there been question of a *Salvator superior* who was not subject to suffering (*impassibilis*), then the Jews would not have been able to put Him to the Cross and their sin would have been less grievous (p. 60): '*Et multo minus erat peccatum, siquidem superiorem Salvatorem, ad quem ascendere eos oporteret, quoniam esset impassibilis, non affixissent cruci*'. III, 12, 11 (II, p. 63): A quotation from Phil. 2, 8: '*... subiectus factus est usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis*'.

III, 19, 4 (II, p. 98): After Peter's profession of faith at Caesarea Philippi, Christ, the Son of God, foretold His own passion and that of His disciples: '*Si quis vult post Me venire, neget se et tollat crucem suam et sequatur Me* (Mt. 16, 24). Irenaeus then returns to ideas of the Gnostics who deny the reality of the passion of the Son of God: '*Si autem ipse non erat passurus, sed avolaret a Jesu, quid adhortabatur discipulos tollere crucem, et sequi Se, quam ipse non tollebat secundum ipsos, sed relinquebat dispositionem passionis? Quoniam enim non de agnitione superioris crucis dicit hoc, quemadmodum quidam audent exponere, sed de passione, quam oportebat illum pati ... Et non altera de cruce, sed de passione, quam passurus esset ipse prior, post deinde discipuli eius*'.

III, 19, 5 (II, p. 99): Here too we find *crux* employed twice: '*Et ex hoc autem, quod Dominus in cruce dixerit ...*', and: '*Diligite inimicos vestros et orate pro eis, qui vos oderunt* (Mt. 5, 44); *ipse hoc fecit in cruce*'.

The first thing that strikes us is that in Book III the Latin translator speaks of '*affigere cruci*' and not, as in I, 8, 7, of '*affigere ligno*'. We can detect no difference in meaning.

¹ *Dial.* 91, 2 (p. 205).

² *Ad nationes* I, 12, 4 (p. 30).

In the two Scriptural quotations (Phil. 2, 8 and Mt. 16, 24) the Latin *crux* corresponds to the Greek σταυρός.

The 'tollere crucem' which concurs with Mt. 16, 24 will most probably correspond to the Greek αἶρειν τὸν σταυρόν.

Crux superior and *altera crux* refer to concepts held by Gnostics. There is nothing remarkable about the use of *crux* either in III, 19, 5.

Whenever ξύλον or *lignum* in Book III has the meaning of cross, we are dealing with quotations from the Scriptures. Thus:

III, 12, 6 (II, p. 59): *Deus patrum nostrorum excitavit Jesum, quem vos apprehendistis et interfecistis suspendentes in ligno* (= Acts 5, 30).

III, 12, 8 (II, p. 61): *'Et nos testes sumus omnium eorum quae fecit et in regione Iudaeorum et in Hierusalem; quem interfecerunt suspendentes in ligno'* (= Acts 10, 39).

III, 19, 3 (II, p. 97): Irenaeus here quotes (this section has also been preserved in Greek) Gal. 3, 13 in which the quotation from Deut. 21, 23 occurs: ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. Just as in this passage *lignum* corresponds also in the first two instances to the Greek ξύλον.

Book IV: In this Book we find σταυρός used once and *crux* twice, namely in the following passages:

IV, 10, 1 (II, p. 156f.): This text speaks of our carrying our cross with a faith like that of Abraham, just as Isaac carried the sacrificial wood: δικαίως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν τῷ Ἀβραάμ πίστιν ἔχοντες, ἄραντες τὸν σταυρόν ὡς καὶ Ἰσαάκ τὰ ξύλα ἀκολουθοῦμεν.

It is noteworthy that Irenaeus associates our carrying *our* cross (σταυρός) and the carrying of the sacrificial wood (τὰ ξύλα) by Isaac. Usually, in early Christian literature a typological link is established between Isaac's carrying of the sacrificial wood and Christ's carrying of the Cross,¹ which in Clement of Alexandria (*loc. cit.*) and Tertullian (*loc. cit.*) is emphasized by the play upon the words (ξύλα-ξύλον and *ligna-lignum*).

The use of σταυρός may be explained, however, by the theme of our carrying our cross which recalls the texts of the Synoptics concerning the carrying of the cross (σταυρός).²

IV, 38, 2 (II, p. 232): *'... et huius Verbum, naturaliter quidem invisibilem, palpabilem et visibilem in hominibus factum, et usque ad mortem*

¹ Cf. Ps. Barnabas 7, 3; Melito, fragm. IX; Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I, ch. 5 (23); Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* III, 18, 2.

² Mt. 10, 38; 16, 24; Mk. 8, 34; Lk. 9, 23; 14, 27.

descendisse, mortem autem crucis'. The addition *mortem autem crucis* is derived from Phil. 2, 8 where σταυρός is used.

IV, 40, 1 (II, p. 235): This text concerns the explanation of the Law by Jews and Christians. For the Jews the true meaning of the Law was still hidden, but to the Christians this meaning has been revealed. We also possess the Greek text of this part, but there is a striking difference between the Greek text and the Latin translation. The Greek reads: ὑπὸ δὲ Χριστιανῶν ἀναγινωσκόμενος θησαυρός ἐστίν, κεκρυμμένος μὲν ἐν ἄγρῳ, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀποκεκαλυμμένος and the Latin translation:

a Christianis vero cum legitur, thesaurus est, absconsus in agro, cruce vero Christi revelatus est'. The remainder of the Greek text after ἀποκεκαλυμμένος is missing but we should really expect an explanatory addition: the meaning of the Law has now been revealed to the Christians by, for example, the Coming of Christ. The word σταυρός is not the word most to be expected from the context. Nevertheless it is fascinating to ponder on how the Latin translator arrived at '*cruce Christi*'.

The places in Book IV in which *lignum* is employed in connection with the Cross, require special elucidation.

IV, 4, 2 (II, p. 150): In this passage we find, for the first and only time in the texts under examination, the expression *lignum martyrii* used of the Cross. For a proper understanding we quote the entire passage: '*Non ergo quorundam (sc. Iudaeorum) infidelitatem Legi adscribant: non enim Lex prohibebat eos credere in Filium Dei, sed et adhortabatur dicens non aliter salvari homines ab antiqua serpentis plaga, nisi credant in eum, qui secundum similitudinem carnis peccati in ligno martyrii exaltatur a terra, et omnia trahit ad se, et vivificat mortuos*'.

This passage contains allusions to Gen. 3 (the Fall),¹ to Numbers 21, 4ff. (the brazen serpent), to Rom. 8, 3 and to Jn. 3, 14; 12, 32. With a few small variations we find what for us is the most important part of this passage as a quotation from Irenaeus in the works of Augustine.²

What is here the meaning of *lignum martyrii* and in particular, of *martyrium*?

That *lignum martyrii* refers to the Cross we may assume from the

¹ Cf. *adv. Haer.* IV, 38, 1 (II, p. 232): '*... qui per extensionem manuum dissolvebat Amalech et vivificabat hominem de serpentis plaga*'.

² *Contra Iulianum Pelagianum* I, 3 (PL 44, c. 644): '*Irenaeus Lugdunensis episcopus non longe a temporibus Apostolorum fuit. Iste ait "non aliter salvari homines ab antiqua serpentis plaga, nisi credant in eum, qui secundum similitudinem carnis peccati in ligno martyrii exaltatus a terra omnia traxit ad se, et vivificavit mortuos"*'.

reference to Jn. 3, 14 (cf. Jn. 12, 32) where Christ himself makes the connection between the raising up of the brazen serpent (Numbers 21, 8f.) and His own *exaltatio in cruce*.

What, however, can be the meaning of *martyrium* in this connection? In our opinion three texts from Irenaeus' *adv. Haer.* may serve to throw light upon this matter:

III, 12, 13 (II, p. 65): *Stephanus . . . , qui et primus ex omnibus hominibus sectatus est vestigia martyrii Domini, propter Christi confessionem primus interfectus*.¹ Stephen, the first martyr, followed in the footsteps of the *martyrium Domini*, in other words, he was the first to follow Christ in His passion to death. That this must be the meaning is made clearer by another passage, namely:

III, 12, 16 (II, p. 68): *'Et haec dixit (sc. Stephanus) et lapidatus est; et sic perfectam doctrinam adimplevit, per omnia martyrii magistrum imitans et postulans pro eis, qui se interficiebant'*.² Here too it is hard to understand *martyrium* as anything other than 'suffering unto death', in other words, as *passio*. That in this passage *martyrium* is synonymous with *passio* may appear from:

III, 19, 4 (II, p. 99): *' . . . ad tantam temeritatem progressi sunt quidam (sc. Gnostici), ut etiam martyres spernant, et vituperent eos qui propter Domini confessionem occiduntur, et sustinent omnia a Domino praedicta, et secundum hoc conantur vestigia assequi passionis Domini'*.

In that part of the sentence which interests us, there is mention of the martyrs who follow in the footsteps of the passion of the Lord, just as was said of Stephen in III, 12, 13. If we compare the two expressions: *sectari vestigia martyrii Domini* (III, 12, 13) *assequi vestigia passionis Domini* (III, 19, 4), the meaning of *martyrium* and *passio* seems to be nearly the same. Nearly, but perhaps not entirely, since we do not wish to exclude the possibility that here *martyrium* has the additional meaning of suffering unto death as a testimony.³ That such a complex meaning of

¹ F. SAGNARD, *Irénée de Lyon, Contre les Hérésies III*, (SC 34), Paris 1952, p. 237, translates: ' . . . qui le premier de tous les hommes suivit les traces du martyr du Seigneur'.

² SAGNARD, *op. cit.*, p. 245 translates: ' . . . imitant en tout point le Maître qui nous a donné la leçon du martyr'.

³ That the meaning of *martyrium* may be ambivalent appears from *adv. Haer.* IV, 54 (II, p. 263): *'Quapropter ecclesia omni in loco ob eam quam habet erga Deum dilectionem, multitudinem martyrum praemittit ad Patrem, reliquis autem omnibus non tantum non habentibus hanc rem ostendere apud se, sed neque quidem necessarium esse dicentibus tale martyrium; esse enim martyrium verum sententiam*

the Greek μαρτυρεῖν was already apprehended in Latin in the second century is evident from the Latin translation of the *prima Clementis* ¹ The translator rendered the Greek text καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κοσμοῦ, which deals with Paul, as follows. 'et dato testimonio martyrum sic a potentibus liberavit se ab hoc saeculo' ²

In Tertullian we find presumably the equivalent of the *lignum martyrum*. He writes in his *adv Marc* III, 18, 2 (p 531) 'Itaque imprimis Isaac cum a patre in hostiam deditus lignum sibi portaret ipse, Christi exitum iam tunc denotabat, in victimam concessi a Patre et lignum passionis suae barulantis'.³

Tertullian uses also the term *martyrium* in the sense in which we understand it here ⁴

It remains surprising that in the expression *in ligno martyrum* the word *martyrium* is employed in relation to Christ himself ⁵ and not, as is customary, in relation to the 'martyrs' Nevertheless, we are still of the opinion that the quotations from Irenaeus' own work oblige us to conclude that *martyrium* is here synonymous with *passio*, including the possibility of the connotation of 'testimony'

IV, 20, 2 (II, p 174): For the first time in our research ⁶ we here chance upon Deut 28, 66, a text which will recur repeatedly in the *testimonia crucis* ⁷ The text reads as follows: 'Et rursus significans,

eorum' In this quotation the difference in the conception of *martyrium* within the Church and outside it is clearly expressed

Cf H H JANSSEN, *Kultur und Sprache Zur Geschichte der alten Kirche im Spiegel der Sprachentwicklung Von Tertullian bis Cyprian* (LCP 8), Nijmegen 1938, p 136 ff and p 164 ff

¹ G MORIN, *Sancti Clementis Romani ad Corinthios epistolae versio Latina antiquissima* (Anecdota Maredsolana II), Maredsous 1894, p 7

² Cf CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Les origines de la Latinité chrétienne*, in VC 3 (1949), p 99

³ Cf *adv Iud* 13, 19 (p 1388) 'lignum Christi, id est passionis eius'

⁴ Cf H A M HOPPENBROUWERS, *Recherches sur la terminologie du martyre de Tertullien à Lactance* (LCP 15), Nijmegen 1961, p 15 and p 21

⁵ In the letter of the Churches of Vienna and Lyons ch 2, 3 (R KNOPF-G. KRUGER, *Ausgewählte Martyrerakten*, Tübingen 1929³, p 27) Christ is called the true Martyr ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινὸς μάρτυς (cf Rev 1, 5) H H JANSSEN, *op cit* p 140 translates 'Der wahre Blutzeuge' The martyrs themselves wish (*loc cit*) to make no claim to the title of martyr (μάρτυς), but call themselves confessors (ὁμολογοῖ)

⁶ Melito of Sardis (*Hom* 61) also quotes Deut 28, 66 as a prediction of the Passion, but since he does not mention the word 'cross' we have not included this text in our research

⁷ Cf J DANIÉLOU, *Das Leben das am Holze hängt*, in BITZ-FRIES *Kirche und Überlieferung* (Festschrift Geiselman), Freiburg 1960, p 22-34

quoniam qui ab initio condidit et fecit eos Verbum, et in novissimis temporibus redimens nos et vivificans, ostenditur pendens in ligno et non credent ei ait enim 'Et erit vita tua pendens ante oculos tuos et non credes vitae tuae' (Deut 28, 66)

By his addition '*in ligno*' Irenaeus interprets Deut 28, 66 as a prediction of Christ's passion on the Cross. In V, 18, 2 (II, p 375) Irenaeus again quotes Deut 28, 66, but this time as a prediction of the unbelief of the Jews (cf Rom 10, 21). The same text recurs in his *Demonstratio* 79 in a series of *testimonia crucis* and we shall return to it again ¹

Another text which cannot be passed over is IV, 56, 4 (II, p 272). It reads as follows: '*Hic autem est Dominus noster, et in hoc est sermo verus, quoniam ipse est qui aratrum fecit et falcem intulit, hoc est primam hominis seminationem quae fuit secundum Adam plasmatio, et in novissimis temporibus per Verbum collectam fructificationem, et propter hoc quod initium fini coniungebat, et utroque Dominus existens, in fine quidem aratrum ostendit, lignum copulatum ferro, et sic eius expurgavit terram, quoniam firmum Verbum, adiunctum carni, et habitu tali* ² *confixus emundavit silvestrem terram* ³

This entire passage is Irenaeus' own interpretation of Is 2, 3f. the beating of swords into ploughshares and sickles in the Messianic Period as a sign of calm and peace.

Considering this text, J. Daniélou ⁴ sees in the plough a symbol of the Cross. Therefore it seems important to examine more closely this difficult passage.

Daniélou bases his arguments for the cross symbolism on the following points:

¹ See p 64.

² With R. MASSUET, PG 7, 1 c 1086, J. DANIELOU, *La charrue, symbole de la Croix*, in RSR 42 (1954), p 193-203 and J. DOIGNON, *Le salut par le fer et le bois chez saint Irénée*, in RSR 43 (1955), p 535-544, we adopt the reading '*tali*' from the *codex Vossianus*. Besides the two articles here cited, we also made use of J. DANIELOU's article *La charrue et la hache*, in *Les symboles*, p 95-107.

³ Translation: This now is our Lord, and here the saying holds true, for it is He who made the plough and introduced the scythe, that is, the first sowing of man which was a modelling after the image of Adam, and also the gathering of the harvest by the Word at the end of time. And therefore, since He united the beginning with the end and is the Lord of both, He also showed at the end the plough, wood joined with iron and thus purified the earth (of weeds). For the solid Word, joined with the Flesh, and in such condition nailed (to the wood of the Cross) purified the uncultivated earth.

⁴ J. DANIELOU, *art cit* (from RSR) esp p 197.

1. Justin already mentions the plough as a symbol of the Cross¹; Irenaeus is strongly influenced by Justin.
2. Alongside the symbol: iron ploughshare – wooden ploughbeam stands the symbol of the iron axe-head – ‘the wood’ in *adv. Haer.* V, 17, 4 (II, p. 371). In the latter case we are certain of cross symbolism or rather of Cross typology.²
3. In the second century the word ξύλον/*lignum* aroused the idea σταυρός/*cruce*.
4. The plough appears towards the end (at the second sowing); it tears up the weed of sin, before the new seed can be sown: ‘Or, c’est là précisément le but de la Croix, qui détruit le péché’.³

Despite the attractions of his thesis, the arguments of J. Daniélou have not convinced us completely. The decisive phrases with regard to the symbolism in question appear to be the following:

The symbol: ‘*Verbum ... in fine aratrum, lignum copulatum ferro, ostendit, et sic eius expurgavit terram*’.

The explanation (*quoniam*) of the symbol: ‘*Firmum Verbum, adunitum carni, et habitu tali confixus emundavit silvestrem terram*’.

To our mind the heart of the problem lies in the question: is the plough intended by Irenaeus to be a symbol of the *Verbum* + ‘*caro*’, that is of the Divinity and humanity in Christ, or is the plough the symbol of the *Verbum incarnatum* + the Cross?

It is the expressions ‘*habitu tali*’ and ‘*confixus*’ which make the understanding of this passage so difficult. *Habitu tali* seems to answer to ‘*sic*’ (i.e. *expurgavit eius terram*). As regards *confixus* in this context, we may ask ourselves if it is here intended to refer to the unity of *Verbum* and *caro*, in other words, if, taken together with *habitu tali*, it might have the meaning of: so (as God-Man) harmonized.⁴ To this, however, the following objections may be raised:

1. *Habitu tali confixus* then stresses again what has already been expressed in *adunitum*.
2. Just as ξύλον/*lignum*, *confixus* must have aroused the association

¹ *I Apol.* 55, 3 (p. 66).

² See p. 60f.

³ J. DANIELOU, *art. cit.* (from RSR), p. 201.

⁴ Thus E. KLEBBA, *Irenäus II* (BKV 4), Kempten 1912, p. 118 in his translation of this text: ‘... da das feste Wort, mit dem Fleische verbunden und solcher Gestalt vereint, die verwilderte Erde gesäubert hat’. J. DANIELOU, *art. cit.* p. 197, formulates his conception of this symbolism as follows: ‘La manière dont le Verbe est fixé à la chair ressemble ainsi à celle dont le fer est fixé à la charrue, la chair étant symbolisée par la croix’.

'Cross' We recall Ps Barnabas (5, 13) who saw in Ps 118, 120 καθήλωσόν μου τὰς σάρκας a reference to the crucifixion This quotation is also found as a *testimonium crucis* in Irenaeus' own works, namely in *Dem* 79¹

- 3 The phrase '*emundare silvestrem terram*' refers to a purification and is so more applicable to the Redemption than to the Incarnation In this connection *confixus* would have provided a welcome supplement to the idea as a reference to this Redemption

That, in Irenaeus' train of thought, the combination *Verbum adunatum carni* on the one hand, and the Cross on the other is not surprising, is suggested by the following texts

- 1 *adv Haer* V, 17, 4 (II, p 371) the association of the wood (= Cross) and the iron axe-head (= *firmum Dei Verbum*) of Elisha
2 *adv Haer* V, 18, 1 (II, p 373) '*Quoniam enim ipsum Verbum Dei incarnatum suspensum est super lignum, per multa ostendimus*'

In these texts there is mention of the *Verbum Dei (incarnatum)* on the one hand, and of the Cross on the other

Moreover, it is not necessary here to take the plough symbolism as visual Alongside the traditional reference, Irenaeus imparts his own individual interpretation to the plough (and the sickle) mentioned in Is 2, 4 The plough refers to the creation of man (*primam hominis seminationem*) But the plough which was there in the beginning, appears again at the end, in the fulness of time² (indication of the *recapitulatio* in Christ), with the function of purifying the earth (indication of the Redemption) In other words, the symbol of the plough is not chosen primarily for its visual similarity to the shape of the Cross but on account of the parallelism Creation – Redemption, incorporated under the image of the plough in Irenaeus' grandiose vision of the *recapitulatio* (ἀνακεφαλαιώσις) in Christ With the Redemption Irenaeus

¹ The expression καθήλωμένος is also found in Ignatius, *ad Smyrn* 1, 2 (p 106) Tertullian, *De carnis resurr* 26, 5 (p 954) uses also *configere* in a quotation from Zechariah 12, 10 (cf Jn 19, 17) '*Videbunt enim eum qui confixerunt*' Cyprian, *Test* II, 20 (p 88) gives Ps 118, 120 likewise as a *testimonium crucis*, using in that connection the verb *configere* '*Confige clavis de metu tuo carnes meas*'

² Irenaeus develops a similar idea concerning '*fides in praeputio*' in nearly the same wording in *adv Haer* IV 39 (II, p 233) *Sed haec quidem quae est in praeputio fides, utpote finem coniungens principio, prima et novissima facta est Etenim ante circumcisionem erat in Abraham et rursus in novissimis temporibus orta est in humano genere per Domini adventum*'

does develop the plough symbolism: '*lignum copulatum ferro*', whereby *lignum*, to our mind, contains an allusion to the wood of the Cross.

Book V: The word *σταυρός/cruc* occurs on three occasions in Book V, twice in a quotation from the New Testament.

In V, 16, 2 (II, p. 368): Irenaeus once again quotes Phil. 2, 8. This section has also been preserved in Greek¹: ὑπήκοος ἐγένετο μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ, Lat. *obediens factus est usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis*.

V, 17, 3 (II, p. 371): Here Irenaeus quotes Col. 2, 14: '*... delevit chirographum debiti nostri, et affixit illud cruci*'. In both cases the Latin *crux* corresponds to the Greek *σταυρός*.

In V, 31, 1 (II, p. 411): Irenaeus proposes that those who reject the general resurrection, ought also to conclude from this (which they do not) that the Lord did not rise again on the third day, but: '*... super crucem exspirans, confestim utique abiisset sursum, relinquens corpus terrae*'. This use of *crux* does not give any reason for surprise either.

More important from our point of view are the instances in which Irenaeus employs *ξύλον/lignum*. In the first place we have:

V, 16, 2 (II, p. 368), an interesting passage, since to the best of our knowledge it is here for the first time that the antithesis: the tree of the Cross contrasted with the tree of Knowledge finds expression in early Christian literature, incorporated in Irenaeus' vision of God's plan of salvation.² The emphasis with which Irenaeus underlines this theme leads us to suppose that he is quite familiar with its origin. The Greek text reads as follows³: ἐκλύων γὰρ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ γενομένην τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παρακοήν, ὑπήκοος ἐγένετο μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ, τὴν ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ παρακοήν διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς ἰώμενος. The Latin translation reads:

'... eam quae in ligno facta fuerat inobedientiam, per eam quae in ligno fuerat obedientiam sanans'.

In V, 17, 3-4 (II, p. 371f.) Irenaeus reverts to this theme: 17, 3: '*... uti quemadmodum per lignum facti sumus debitores Deo, per lignum accipiamus nostri debiti remissionem*'. This is illustrated by what happened with Elisha's axe (described in II Kings 6, 1-7):

17, 4: δι' ἔργου ἔδειξεν ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι τὸν στερεὸν Θεοῦ Λόγον (Lat.

¹ Included in K. HOLL, *Fragmente vornehmlich christlicher Schriftsteller aus den Sacra Parallela* (TU 20, 2), Leipzig 1899, fragment 167, p. 77 f.

² Cf. *adv. Haer.* V, 17, 4 (II, p. 372): ἡ τοῦ ξύλου οἰκονομία.

³ K. HOLL, *loc. cit.*

firmum Dei Verbum; cf. IV, 56, 4), ὃν . . . ἀμελῶς ἀποβαλόντες (Lat. *quod per lignum negligenter amiseramus*) οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν, ἀποληψόμεθα πάλιν διὰ τῆς τοῦ ξύλου οἰκονομίας . . . Τοῦτον οὖν (Lat. *Hoc ergo Verbum*) κεκρυμμένον ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἢ τοῦ ξύλου ἐφανερώσεν, ὡς προέφαμεν, οἰκονομία. 'Ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ ξύλου ἀπεβόλομεν αὐτόν, διὰ ξύλου πάλιν φανερόν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐγένετο.¹

In V, 18, 1 (II, p. 373) we again find the word *lignum* used for the Cross: '*Quoniam enim ipsum Verbum Dei incarnatum suspensum est super lignum, per multa ostendimus*'. This expression '*suspensum est super lignum*' reminds us of the well known Scriptural texts quoted in connection with ξύλον.²

In V, 18, 2 (II, p. 374f.) the *suspensio super lignum* is incorporated in Irenaeus' concept of the *recapitulatio* in Christ: '*Mundi enim factor vere Verbum Dei est; hic autem est Dominus noster, qui in novissimis temporibus homo factus est, in hoc mundo existens, et secundum invisibilitatem continet omnia quae facta sunt, et in universa conditione infixus, quoniam Verbum Dei gubernans et disponens omnia; et propter hoc in sua visibiliter³ venit, et caro factum est, et pependit super lignum, ut universa in semetipsum recapituletur*'. The expression '*pependit super lignum*' may be influenced by the same Scriptural texts as *suspensus est super lignum* in V, 18, 1.

V, 19, 1 (II, p. 375): The antithesis obedience *in ligno* contrasted with the disobedience *in ligno*, the οἰκονομία τοῦ ξύλου is linked again with Irenaeus' vision of the *recapitulatio* in Christ: '*... recapitulationem eius quae in ligno fuit inobedientiae, per eam quae in ligno est obedientiam, (faciens)*'.⁴

In *Dem.* 34 we also find the same theme.⁵

Fragment XXVI (Harvey II, p. 492f.) also mentions, like *adv. Haer.* V, 17, 3-4, the incident of Elisha's axe. In his interpretation, however, Irenaeus does not refer to the antithesis: tree of the Cross – tree of Knowledge, but sees this incident as a sign of the elevation of man: . . . ὅπερ ἦν σημεῖον ἀναγωγῆς ψυχῶν διὰ ξύλου, ἐφ' οὗ πέπονθεν ὁ ψυχᾶς

¹ We come across this theme again in early Christian Greek literature, in Origen's *Contra Celsum* VI, 36 (Origenes II, p. 105).

² Deut. 21, 23; Acts 5, 30; 10, 39.

³ We have adopted HARVEY's correction; cf. also *adv. Haer.* IV, 38, 2 (II, p. 232): '*Verbum naturaliter invisibilem, palpabilem, et visibilem in hominibus factum*'. Cf. also *Demonstratio* 34.

⁴ On the *recapitulatio* in Christ in Irenaeus see: J. DANIELÉLOU, *Sacramentum Futuri*, p. 20 ff.; *Judéo-Christianisme*, p. 205.

⁵ See p. 64.

ἀνάγειν δυνάμενος, ἀκολουθούσας ἀνόδῳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ. The interpretation of this Scriptural incident shows similarity to the metaphor of Ignatius, *ad Eph.* 9, 1 (p. 85) where he has the faithful, who are compared with the stones for a temple in God's honour, raised on high by the cross of Christ: . . . ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶν σταυρός.

b. Demonstratio praedicationis apostolicae

Here too we shall examine in turn the terms 'cross' and 'wood' as applied to the cross of Christ. We are obliged, however, to base our remarks on translations from the Armenian.¹

ch. 56 (p. 84) The text from Isaiah 9, 5: οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ is viewed by Irenaeus as a prediction of Christ's rule from the Cross: 'But the words: "Whose government is set upon his shoulders" mean allegorically (Froid.: allégoriquement) the Cross, on which He held His back when He was crucified (Froid.: la Croix, sur laquelle il avait les bras cloués); for, as He says, the Cross which was and is an ignominy for Him, and because of Him for us, that is His government (Froid.: pouvoir), that is, a sign of His empire (Froid.: royauté)'.

This interpretation betrays the same basic theme as Ps. 95, 10 in the textual reading which we found in Justin, *Dial.* 73, 1-2.²

Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* III, 19, 1-2 combines both Scriptural quotations.³

ch. 79 (p. 97f.): In this chapter Irenaeus gives the following series of *testimonia crucis*:

Is. 65, 2: 'And again, concerning His cross, Isaiah says as follows: "I have stretched forth my hands all the day to a stubborn and contrary people; for this is a figure of the Cross" (Froid.: car cela signifie la Croix)'.

This text of Isaiah has already been linked with the Cross by Ps. Barnabas 12, 4 and Justin.⁴

Ps. 21: Then follow several quotations from Ps. 21: 'And also, more plainly, David says: "Hounds have encompassed me on all sides; the

¹ We are following the translation of J. P. SMITH, *St. Irenaeus, Proof of the Apostolic Preaching* (ACW 16), Westminster-London 1952. Wherever it seems important, we mention also that of L. M. FROIDEVAUX, *Irénée de Lyon, Démonstration de la Prédication apostolique* (SC 62), Paris 1959.

² Justin too, *I Apol.* 35, 2 (p. 50) quoted Is. 9, 5 as a prediction of the δύναμις τοῦ σταυροῦ.

³ See p. 86.

⁴ *I Apol.* 35, 3 (p. 50); *Dial.* 97, 2 (p. 211); 114, 2 (p. 231).

council of the malignant hath surrounded me; they have dug my hands and feet" (Ps. 21, 17). And again he says: "My heart is become like wax melting in the midst of my bowels; and they have scattered my bones" (Ps. 21, 15c-b).

Now follows the composite *testimonium* which we already met in Ps. Barnabas 5, 13¹: 'And again he says: "Deliver my soul from the sword and my body from the nailing,² for the council of the malignant is risen up over me"'.³

As though to underline again the meaning of these texts Irenaeus adds: 'In this He clearly and plainly signifies His own crucifixion'.³

Ps. 21 is repeatedly quoted in tradition as a prediction of the passion of the Messiah. Ps. Barnabas (ch. 6, 6-7) already quoted an amalgamation of Ps. 21, 17. 15. 19 as a prediction of the Passion and in his Dialogue 98-105 Justin gave a detailed interpretation of Ps. 21. He repeatedly applied verse 17 to the crucifixion.⁴ In *Dial.* 103, 7 (p. 220) he interpreted verse 15 as predicting Jesus' agony in the garden of Olives and verse 21, with the emphasis falling on the κέρτα μονοκέρτων, as referring to the crucifixion.

The composite quotation, of which Ps. 21, 21a forms part, is an amalgamation of Psalm texts:

Ps. 21, 21a: '*parce* a framea animae meae.

Ps. 118, 120a: *confige carnes meas.*

Ps. 21, 17b: *quoniam concilium malignantium.*

Ps. 85, 14a: *insurrexerunt super me.*

This composite quotation, preserved in Greek in Ps. Barnabas 5, 13, leads us to conclude either that Irenaeus is here indebted to Ps. Barnabas or else that he had recourse to the same collection of *testimonia* as Ps. Barnabas.⁵

¹ See p. 24 f.

² FROID.: '*épargne* (φείσται; cf. Ps. Barnabas 5, 13) à mon âme l'épée et cloue mes chairs ...'.

³ FROID.: 'Dans ces passages Il montre et désigne de façon lumineuse sa crucifixion'. At this point the translations of SMITH and FROIDEVAUX are widely divergent. In RSR 44 (1956) p. 408 ff. FROIDEVAUX explained his version in detail. According to him it is defensible from the point of view of the Armenian, is more significant as a *testimonium crucis* and has the added attraction of agreeing with Ps. Barnabas 5, 13.

In RSR 39 (1951), p. 368 FROIDEVAUX remarks: 'Étant donné la difficulté (de la traduction), on peut penser que le texte de la Démonstration posera longtemps encore des problèmes aux Patrologues'.

⁴ *I Apol.* 35, 5; 38, 4; *Dial.* 104, 1.

⁵ Cf. L. M. FROIDEVAUX in RSR 44 (1956), p. 412 ff.

Deut 28, 66 To conclude this series Irenaeus quotes Deut 28, 66 'But Moses too says the same thing to the people (Froid *du* peuple) as follows "And thy Life shall be hanging before thy eyes, and thou shalt fear night and day, neither shalt thou trust thy Life"

As we have already seen Irenaeus also employed this text in *adversus Haereses* as a reference to the crucifixion ¹

Of this anthology of *testimonia* Irenaeus has

Is 65, 2 in common with Ps Barnabas and Justin

Ps 21, 15 17 also with Ps Barnabas and Justin

The composite quotation with Ps Barnabas

Deut 28, 66 with Melito of Sardis (*Hom* 61)

Concerning the use of 'wood' in connection with the Cross the following passages are important

ch 34 (p 69f) In this chapter ² we again meet the antithesis of the tree of the Cross and the tree of Knowledge from Paradise with which we are already familiar from the *adversus Haereses* 'And the sin that was wrought through the tree (Froid : par le moyen du bois) was undone by the obedience of the tree (Froid *sur* le bois), obedience to God, whereby the Son of Man was nailed to the tree (Froid fut cloué sur le bois), destroying the knowledge of evil, and bringing in and conferring the knowledge of good, and evil is disobedience to God, as obedience to God is good' After quoting Is 50, 5f, ³ Irenaeus returns to the same theme 'So by the obedience, whereby He obeyed unto death (cf Phil 2, 8), hanging on the tree (Froid pendant au bois), He undid the old disobedience wrought in the tree (Froid . sur le bois)'

Noteworthy is the emphasis which Irenaeus in this chapter (as, indeed, in *adv Haer* V, 16-19) places upon this antithesis

In view of the texts from *adversus Haereses* dealing with this antithesis, ⁴ preserved partly in Greek, we may assume that the Armenian word in the *Demonstratio* corresponding to 'tree' (Smith) or 'bois' (Froidevaux) goes back to the Greek ξύλον

ch 45 (p 77) In this chapter Irenaeus speaks of Jacob's ladder, at the top of which was the Redeemer (cf Gen 28, 12-15) 'Jacob also ..

¹ IV, 20, 2 (II, p 174) '*ostenditur pendens in ligno*', see p 56 f

² SMITH's division of chapters 33 and 34 differs from that of FROIDEVAUX (*op cit*) and that in the edition of KARAPET TER MFKFRITSCHIAN in *Patrologia Orientalis* XII, 5, Paris 1919 The first quotation from ch 34 in the edition of SMITH still belongs in these editions to ch 33

³ Cf Ps Barnabas 5, 14 and Justin, *I Apol* 38, 2

⁴ V, 16, 2, 17, 3-4, 19, 1

sees Him, in a dream, standing at the ladder, that is, the tree (Froid.: le bois), set up from earth even to heaven; for by it those who believe in Him mount to heaven, for His passion is our raising on high'.¹

It seems obvious that in this passage, as in ch. 34, the original Greek text contained ξύλον. That this ξύλον refers to the cross of Christ appears from the motivation: through this ξύλον, *i.e.* through Christ's passion, the faithful ascend to heaven.² We have also come across the same idea in fragment XXVI (II, p. 492) where Irenaeus, referring to the incident with the wood (ξύλον) and axe of Elisha remarks: ὅπερ ἦν σημεῖον ἀναγωγῆς ψυχῶν διὰ ξύλου, ἐφ' οὗ πέπονθεν ὁ ψυχᾶς ἀνάγειν δυνάμενος.

In *Dial.* 86, 2 (p. 199) Justin already named Jacob's ladder as one of his many *testimonia ligni*. Irenaeus, however, establishes a clearer connection than Justin between Jacob's ladder and the *lignum passionis*.

Summing-up: We can here leave out of consideration the nouns Σταυρός and Ξύλον used as Gnostic terms in the systems of the Valentinians and the Barbeliots respectively, and likewise the Scriptural quotations employed by the Gnostics in support of their ideas or even by Irenaeus himself since they do not reflect Irenaeus' personal vocabulary. It is, however, clear from these quotations that Irenaeus (and also his Latin translator) retained σταυρός (*crux*) or ξύλον (*lignum*) according as one of the two words was employed in the Scriptural text.

As far as Irenaeus' own vocabulary is concerned σταυρός (*crux*) is used only ³ as a term for or in connection with the cross of Christ. The expression '*cruci affigere*' in *adv. Haer.* III, 12, 7 (twice) may be influenced by σταυρῶ προσηλοῦν in Col. 2, 14, a text which Irenaeus quotes in V, 17, 3 (Lat. *cruci affigere*). For the rest, this expression was also current in profane Greek.⁴ The expression τῷ ξύλῳ προσηλοῦν in *adv. Haer.* I, 8, 7 is more surprising, for there is no evidence here of any link with a Scriptural text.

The '*tollere crucem*' of *adv. Haer.* III, 19, 4 on the other hand is linked with the immediately preceding quotation from Mt. 16, 24 concerning

¹ FROID.: 'Car sa passion est notre ascension'.

² Cf. Ignatius, *ad Eph.* 9, 1.

³ The only exception is *habitus crucis* in *adv. Haer.* II, 36, 2 where Irenaeus speaks of the shape of the cross in general, without any clear reference to the cross of Christ.

⁴ Cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca* II, 18 and Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* II, 14, 9 (308).

the taking up of the cross. Similarly ἄραντες τὸν σταυρὸν ὡς Ἰσαάκ in *adv Haer* IV, 10, 1 is probably influenced by the texts of the Synoptics concerning the carrying of the cross.

It is clear from the two passages in *Demonstratio* 56 and especially 79 in which Irenaeus gives a series of *testimonia crucis*, that he is entirely dependent on the tradition with which we are already familiar from Ps Barnabas and Justin¹.

The remaining passages in *adversus Haereses* in which *crux* is employed *superior crux* and *altera crux* (both in connection with Gnostic concepts), *in cruce dicere*, *in cruce facere*, *super crucem exspirare* (used of Christ) all reflect the normal linguistic usage.

The influence of Scriptural texts is clearly evident in the use of the term ξύλον/*lignum*. The antithesis: tree of the Cross contrasted with the tree of Knowledge is a theme to which Irenaeus returns four times with a certain emphasis. It is admittedly incorporated in his vision of Christ as the new Adam but is undoubtedly influenced as well by the term ξύλον used both for the tree of Knowledge (Gen 2, 9 etc.) and for the Cross (Acts 5, 30 etc.).

Jacob's ladder (ξύλον) as a type of the Cross may be adopted from Justin's *Dial* 86, 2, although Irenaeus places more emphasis than Justin on the connection with the Cross.

The expression *lignum martyrii* occurs in a passage containing reminders of Numbers 21, 4ff (the brazen serpent) and also of Gen 3 (the Fall). Ps Barnabas 12, 7 (p 25), quoting the text from Numbers 21, 8 f., already spoke of τὸν ὄφιν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐπικείμενον.

Expressions like *suspensus est super lignum* and *pendit super lignum* may be influenced by New Testament texts dealing with the Cross as ξύλον (based on Deut 21, 23), of which Irenaeus quotes in *adv Haer* III Acts 5, 30, 10, 39, Gal 3, 13 (= Deut 21, 23).

Deut 28, 66, interpreted by Irenaeus as *pendens in ligno* may be influenced by the Scriptural texts just mentioned. This interpretation too is entirely in accordance with tradition².

Irenaeus' interpretation of the incident with the axe of Elisha, described in II Kings 6, 1ff, is linked by him with the antithesis: tree

¹ Nowhere does Irenaeus mention Ps Barnabas or his work by name. On the contrary, he mentions Justin by name and quotes him with approval in *adv Haer* IV, 11, 2 (II, p 358 f) and V, 26, 3 (II, p 396). καλῶς δ' Ἰουστίνος φησιν/ἔφη.

Cf L. M. FROIDEVAUX, *art cit* p 419 ff.

² Cf J. DANIELOU, *Das Leben das am Holze hängt*, p 22 ff.

of the Cross – tree of Knowledge. Here too, as with Justin in *Dial.* 86, 6, the word ξύλον in II Kings 6, 6 influenced his interpretation.

In *adv. Haer.* IV, 56, 4: '*aratrum, lignum copulatum ferro*' is not based on any particular Scriptural text. Here the prevailing idea is the symbolism of the plough (with reference to Is. 2, 4), analysed in *lignum copulatum ferro*, whereby *lignum* (ξύλον) has given rise to the association 'Cross'.

It is interesting to note that in many cases where we possess the Greek text alongside the Latin translation, the Latin translator has placed more emphasis on the idea 'Cross' or on Cross typology than the Greek text.¹

5. *Clement of Alexandria*

The word σταυρός does not occur at all in the *Protrepticus* of Clement of Alexandria.² There are, however, two allusions to the crucifixion: ch. 11, 111, 2 (I, p. 79): 'By his outstretched arms (χερσὶν ἡπλωμέναις) the Lord showed that man was again free'. So also in:

ch. 11, 114, 4 (I, p. 80): 'The Lord has crucified (ἀνεσταύρωσεν) death to life, He has snatched man from destruction and hung (προσεκρέμασεν) him on the firmament'. Given Clement's preference for an ambiguous use of words, we may also assume in this second text an allusion to Christ's death on the Cross.

In the *Paedagogus* σταυρός occurs only once, in:

III, ch. 12, 85, 3 (I, p. 283): 'Let us consider the cross of the Lord (ὁ σταυρός τοῦ Κυρίου) as a partition (ὄρος) whereby we are separated from our former sins (περισταυρούμεθα) as by a fence'.

In *Strom.* II, ch. 20, 108, 4 (II, p. 172) we find the same meaning of σταυρός as in *Paed.* III, 85, 3. Clement has first postulated (in 108, 2) that every passion nails the soul to the body (προσπασσαλοῦν), unless we ourselves throw up a partition (ἀφορίζειν) and a palisade (ἀποσταυροῦν) between us and the passion. With reference to this a quotation from Mt. 10, 39 (cf. Mk. 8, 35) follows (in 108, 3). Clement then elaborates on this meaning of σταυρός (in 108, 4): 'If we wish to free (ἀπολῦσαι) our soul from diversion and pleasure in this life, keep it far away (ἀποστῆσαι), separate it (ἀφορίσαι) – for this is the meaning of the cross (τοῦτο

¹ Thus I, 1, 3 Συλλυτρωτήν/*Stauron*; I, 1, 5 Στύλος/*Cruix*; IV, 40, 1 αὐτοῖς (?) / *Cruce Christi*; in V, 16, 2 the addition: '*quae in ligno fuerat*'; in V, 17, 3 the addition. '*per lignum*'. Was this a striving after clarity on the part of the translator or a more faithful rendering of the original Greek text?

² Clement of Alexandria is everywhere quoted according to text, volume and page in the edition of OTTO STAHLIN in GCS, Leipzig-Berlin 1905 ff.

γὰρ ὁ σταυρὸς σημαίνει) —, then we will possess it'. In an interpretation of Mt. 10, 39 Clement here explains the meaning of the cross as causing a separation, creating a distance. It seems that this interpretation, and likewise that in *Paed.* III, 85, 3, is not entirely free from Gnostic influences.¹

This same meaning of σταυρὸς is also found in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*: *Exc.* 22, 4 (III, p. 114): In the Gnostic system of Theodotus Σταυρὸς is the separation of the Pleroma: '... in order that ... we may not be hindered and kept back by the Limit ("Ορος) and the Cross (Σταυρὸς) from entering the Pleroma'.² This meaning of Σταυρὸς is even clearer in: *Exc.* 42, 1 (III, p. 120): 'Σταυρὸς is a sign of the Limit in the Pleroma, for it divides the unfaithful from the faithful'.³ This argument is supported by a quotation from Lk. 14, 27.

We may rightly assume that the Gnostic terminology in the *Excerpta* derives from Theodotus, not from Clement.⁴ However, the exclusive stressing of 'limit', also in the other texts quoted, remains remarkable for Clement's concept of σταυρὸς. We doubt whether this can be completely explained by the texts of the Synoptics on the carrying of the cross.⁵

In *Strom.* II, ch. 20, 104, 3 (II, p. 170) Clement says of the true Gnostic, the perfect follower of Christ: 'He carries the cross of the Redeemer (ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος) everywhere with him; he follows in the footsteps of the Lord as of a God (μετ' ἔχνην ὥστε θεοῦ).'⁶ This text follows upon a quotation from Gal. 6, 14 and is probably also influenced by the texts on the carrying of the cross. It is noteworthy, however, that Clement does not speak of *our* cross, but of the cross of the Redeemer.

In *Strom.* VI, ch. 15, 128, 1 (II, p. 496) the word σταυρὸς also occurs in a quotation from the *Kerygma Petri*. We shall mention this text in discussing the Apocrypha of the New Testament.⁷

The rare occurrence of the word σταυρὸς in Clement's fairly considerable oeuvre does, however, remain striking.

¹ Cf. the concepts of the Valentinians, mentioned in Irenaeus' *adv. Haer.* I, 1, 6.

² R. P. CASEY, *Clemens Alexandrinus, the Excerpta ex Theodoto* (Studies and Documents I), London 1934, p. 57.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 69.

⁴ Cf. F. SAGNARD, *Clément d'Alexandrie, Extraits de Théodote* (SC 23), Paris 1948, p. 8 ff.

⁵ Mt. 10, 38; 16, 24; Mk. 8, 34; Lk. 9, 23; 14, 27.

⁶ Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* 2, 406 etc.; Plato, *Phaedrus* 266B.

⁷ See p. 79 f.

On the other hand, the term ξύλον, referring to the cross of Christ, is employed more frequently. The first interesting text is:

Protr. ch. 12, 118, 4 (I, p. 83): In this text Clement, sailing upon the sea of this world, reminds us of Odysseus, bound to the mast of his ship when passing the Sirens (cf. *Od.* 12, 178), and on the other hand of Christ, nailed to the Cross: . . . τῷ ξύλῳ προσδεδεμένος ἀπάσης ἔση τῆς φθορᾶς λελυμένος . . .¹ That with ξύλον Clement is alluding to the cross of Christ, is confirmed² by the meaning of ξύλον in the following quotations:

Protr. ch. 12, 119, 3 (I, p. 84): Clement invites Tiresias, the blind seer of Thebes, to take part in the divine Liturgy: 'Let yourself be led by the hand towards the Truth; see, I give you the wood to lean on' (ἰδοῦ, σοι τὸ ξύλον ἐπερείδεσθαι δίδωμι). Here too we note the same ambiguous usage: Clement is thinking of a stick as a support for the old, blind man, but at the same time of the cross (ξύλον) of Christ.³

In both places in the *Protrepticus* the word ξύλον, on account of its wider meaning, was more suitable for this ambiguous use than σταυρός.

Paed. I, ch. 5, 23, 1 (I, p. 103): Like Melito of Sardis (fragment IX-XII) and Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* IV, 10, 1) Clement sees in Isaac, carrying the wood for the sacrifice (Gen. 22, 6), a foreshadowing (τύπος) of Christ carrying the wood of the Cross: ἐβάστασε τὰ ξύλα τῆς ἱερουργίας ὁ Ἰσαάκ ὡς ὁ Κύριος τὸ ξύλον.

The frequent occurrence of the typology Isaac - Christ in early Christian literature, despite our fragmentary tradition, proves that this typology of the sacrifice of Isaac appealed strongly to the first generations of Christians.⁴ However, neither in Ps. Barnabas 7, 3 nor in Melito (*loc. cit.*) nor in Irenaeus (*loc. cit.*) do we note the play upon the words ξύλα-ξύλον which is expressed in Clement.

¹ Cf. H. RAHNER, *Odysseus am Mastbaum*, in ZKTh. 65 (1941), p. 123-152, esp. p. 146.

Idem, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung*, Zürich 1945, p. 467-487: Der Mastbaum des Kreuzes.

² Hippolytus too, *Elenchus* VII, 13, 2 (Hippolytus III, p. 191), who gives the same Christian interpretation of this myth, speaks of: ἐαυτὸν τῷ ξύλῳ Χριστοῦ προσδήσας . . .

³ Cf. CL. MONTDÉSERT-A. PLASSART, *Clément d'Alexandrie, le Protreptique* (SC 2), Paris 1949², p. 188 f.

⁴ Cf. J. DANIELLOU, *Sacramentum Futuri*, p. 97-III: La typologie du sacrifice d'Isaac.

Also I. SPEYART VAN WOERDEN, *art. cit.*, who, however, does not mention this text of Clement in her appendix A (p. 251 f.).

Strom. I ch. 24, 164, 4 (II, p. 103): 'The pillar of fire mentioned at the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt (Ex. 14, 19. 24) together with the fire from the burning bush (Ex. 3, 2) constitute symbols of the sacred light which travels through space from earth and returns to heaven through the wood, whereby we too are granted the power of seeing in spirit: διὰ τοῦ ξύλου, δι' οὗ καὶ τὸ βλέπειν ἡμῖν νοητῶς δεδωρήται'. We interpret this last phrase as meaning: the Cross has granted us τὸ βλέπειν νοητῶς, that is, the Gnosis. So the expression τὸ βλέπειν νοητῶς is, in our opinion, employed in the absolute sense.¹ We think to find support for our proposed translation in:

Strom. V, ch. 11, 72, 2 (II, p. 374): Having stated in 71, 5 that the grace of the Knowledge (of God) comes from God through His Son (ἡ χάρις τῆς γνώσεως παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ) and quoted in 72, 1 the text from Prov. 30, 2 f., Clement continues: 'Moses symbolically termed the knowledge of the Divine² the tree of Life, planted in Paradise: ³ αὐτίκα τὴν φρόνησιν ἀλληγορῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς ξύλον ζωῆς ὠνόμασεν, ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ πεφυτευμένον. 'The word παραδείσος', continues Clement, 'can also refer to the world . . . There the Logos (through His Incarnation) bloomed and bore fruit, and gave Life to all who tasted of His goodness'. Then follows the passage which is important for our argument: 'ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ ἄνευ τοῦ ξύλου εἰς γνῶσιν ἡμῖν ἀφίχεται: for (no more than in Paradise) knowledge of Him is not granted us without 'the wood'.⁴ That this wood is intended to refer to the cross of Christ appears from what follows: 'ἐκρεμάσθη γὰρ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν εἰς πίστιν ἡμῶν: our Life was hung (upon the Cross), so that we might believe'. From this text it appears that the knowledge (γνῶσις) of God's Son is given us

¹ This in disagreement with M. CASTER in CL. MONTDÉSERT-M. CASTER, *Clément d'Alexandrie, Les Stromates I* (SC 30), Paris 1951, p. 163: '... à travers le bois (de la Croix), à travers lequel il nous est donné de la (i.e. la lumière; τὸ φῶς) contempler en esprit'. O. STÄHLIN, however, in BKV, 2. R. 17, München 1936, p. 136 translates this passage: '... durch das Holz (des Kreuzes) wieder zum Himmel emporeilt, des Lichtes (referring to σύμβολον φωτὸς ἀγίου), durch das uns auch die Fähigkeit geistig zu sehen geschenkt worden ist'. We are in agreement with STÄHLIN on the translation of τὸ βλέπειν νοητῶς.

² In view of the context this translation seems more accurate than that of O. STÄHLIN, BKV 2. R. 19, München 1937, p. 181: 'Darum nannte Moses die Klugheit, um sie sinnbildlich als göttlich zu bezeichnen, einen im Paradies gepflanzten Baum des Lebens'.

³ It is interesting to compare with this the dissertation devoted in 'to Diogenetus' 12, 1-4 to the relation: tree of Knowledge - tree of Life.

Cf. also W. DEN BOER, *De allegorese in het werk van Clemens Alexandrinus*, Leiden 1940, p. 4 and p. 80.

⁴ The translation of O. STÄHLIN, *op. cit.* p. 182: 'Da er auch nicht ohne das Kreuz uns bekannt geworden ist', seems too tame.

through the Cross.¹ With this Clement has rendered the same idea as in *Strom.* I, 164, 4: διὰ ξύλου δι' οὗ καὶ τὸ βλέπειν ἡμῖν νοητῶς δεδῶρηται.

Strom. II, ch. 4, 19, 1 (II, p. 122): In this passage ξύλον has a 'veiled' character. A Person is mentioned 'who fulfils the Law, who does the Will of the Father, who is written in full upon a lofty "wood" (ἀναγεγραμμένος ἀντίκρυς ἐπὶ ξύλου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ) as an example of Divine virtue, held up as a model for those who can see'.

The expression ἐπὶ ξύλου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ² together with the tenor of the entire sentence, lead us to see in this passage a reference to the crucified Christ and the Cross.³ This veiled character is intensified by the fact that Clement repeats the expression ἀναγεγραμμένος ἐπὶ ξύλου and mentions the custom which is said to have existed in Sparta of transmitting important news 'written on wood'⁴

Summing-up: Only twice does Clement speak openly of Christ's cross (σταυρός): ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος in *Strom.* II, 104, 3 and ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου in *Paed.* III, 85, 3. In the latter instance he sees the Cross as a

¹ Cf J DANIELOU, *Das Leben das am Holze hangt*, p. 22, who translates 'In der Tat gelangt man nicht ohne das Holz zur Gnosis, denn unser Leben wurde aufgehängt, damit wir zum Glauben kommen' In the second phrase DANIELOU sees an allusion to Deut. 28, 66

Cf also J DANIELOU, *Un témoignium sur la vigne*, in RSR 50 (1962), p. 396 f., *idem*, *Message*, p. 218

We find a similar line of thought in the *Evangelium Veritatis* 24-30 (in the edition of M MALININE-H PUËCH-G QUISPÉL, Zurich 1956, p. 18). 'Il fut cloué à un bois, devint un fruit de la Gnose du Père Au contraire, à ceux qui en ont mangé, Il leur a donné d'être en joie, à cause de cette découverte'.

In *Paed.* III, ch. 3, 25, 3 (I, p. 251) mention is also made of (the fruit of) the tree of Life which we, when God calls us, carry with us, longing for Redemption τοιοῦτους ὁ Κύριος ἡμᾶς καλεῖ, ἐπιφερομένους τὸ ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς.

In his textual edition and in his translation O STAHLIN refers to Gen. 2, 9 and Rev. 2, 7 *etc.*, but does not express any opinion in his translation (in BKV 2 R 8, München 1934, p. 159) concerning the meaning of the ξύλον τῆς ζωῆς. From the context it seems not impossible that the Cross is also intended 'God calls us', says Clement, 'free from the desire for possessions, free from the aspirations to vain glory, free from sin (this is the meaning of σταυρός in Clement), carrying with us only the wood of Life (cf *Strom.* II, 104, 3), longing only for Redemption'

² Melito of Sardis, Paschal homily 95 (p. 155) also refers to the Cross as ξύλον ὑψηλόν.

³ TH CAMELOT in TH CAMELOT-CL MONTDÉSERT, *Clément d'Alexandrie, Les Stromates II* (SC 38), Paris 1954, p. 46 refrains from making any comment O STAHLIN (BKV 2 R 17, p. 163) translates. 'geradezu wie auf einem hoch-aufgerichteten Holze gemalt' He makes no mention of the Cross either

⁴ Cf, moreover, *Strom.* IV, ch. 5, 19, 2 (II, p. 257), where Clement says of Job παράδειγμα ἀγαθὸν ἀναγεγραμμένος, O STAHLIN (BKV 2 R 19, p. 22) translates here 'als ein gutes Beispiel aufgezeichnet'.

separation, as a setting apart from sin. This is evidently the meaning which σταυρός has for him. Thus in *Strom.* II, 108, 4: ὁ σταυρὸς σημαίνει ἀπολῦσαι, ἀποστῆσαι, ἀφορίσαι.

In the *Excerpta* Σταυρός is in two places a Gnostic term (22, 4, 42, 1). The Scriptural quotation with σταυρός (42, 3) is only used to support an argument.

Concerning the use of ξύλον with reference to the cross of Christ the following may be stated:

A typological link is established in *Paed.* I, 23, 1 between the sacrificial wood (τὰ ξύλα) of Isaac and the wood (τὸ ξύλον) of the cross of Christ. In *Strom.* V, 72, 2 between the ξύλον ζωῆς of Paradise and the wood of the Cross.¹

In the remaining instances ξύλον in the meaning of Cross has an ambiguous or veiled character. There is no evidence for any link between the Cross (ξύλον) and the Old Testament. Thus in *Protr.* 118, 4 and 119, 3 the use of ξύλον is ambiguous. It has at one and the same time a purely profane and a sacral significance. The same may be remarked in *Strom.* II, 19, 1 of the expression ἀναγεγραμμένος ἐπὶ ξύλου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ. The mention of the Cross in *Strom.* I, 164, 4 is also veiled.

Is this ambiguous character of ξύλον merely a game with words, the product of Clement's playful spirit, such as may be expected of a philologist?² Or does a certain veiling of the horror aroused by the evocation of the crucifixion also play its part? The rarity of the term σταυρός might be taken as lending support to this view.³

¹ In this text there is no question of the antithesis cross of Christ contrasted with the tree of Knowledge, as in Irenaeus, but of a parallelism between the tree of Life of Paradise which appears to be at the same time a tree of Knowledge, and the Cross

² Cf W. DEN BOER, *op cit.*, p. 1-14 and p. 65-72

³ In *Strom.* I, ch. 17, 88, 1-4 (II, p. 56 f.), in a consideration of the true Wisdom Clement does quote 1 Cor. 1, 23 ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον but his own choice of words in this passage which examines in detail 1 Cor. 1, 20-24 is 'the Son of God had suffered (πεπονθέναι)'. The word σταυρός does not occur. The same is noticeable in *Strom.* VI, ch. 15, 127, 1-2 (II, p. 496) where Clement, referring to the crucifixion, in connection with 1 Cor. 1, 23 f. employs πεπονθότα. In *Ecl. Proph.* 27, 6 (III, p. 145) he says in a paraphrase of 1 Cor. 1, 23 f.: 'The word of truth (ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας) is for some folly, for others a stumbling block; some, however, discover it as the wisdom and power of God'. Here too σταυρός is not mentioned. Nor does Clement mention the ξύλον-texts from the New Testament referring to the Cross: Acts, 5, 30, 10, 39, 13, 29, Gal. 3, 13, 1 Peter 2, 24.

6 *The Odes of Solomon*

The term 'cross' does not occur in the *Odes of Solomon*. Concerning the use of the term 'wood' for the cross of Christ the following two passages ¹ must be mentioned

Ode 27 (II, p 356)

- 1 I expanded my hands and I sanctified (them) to my Lord,
for the expansion of my hands is His sign,
- 2 and my expansion ² is the upright wood

Ode 42 (II, p 403)·

- 1 I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord,
for the stretching out of my hands is His sign,
- 2 and my expansion ² is the outspread wood,
that was set up on the way of the Righteous One

Reference is made in both Odes to a cruciform attitude of prayer ³ such as was customary among the Christians in the first centuries, in other words, to cross symbolism. This cross symbolism is further stressed by the second verse (esp. in *Ode 27*) where 'my expansion (or, my standing erect) is the upright wood' is a symbol of the longitudinal beam of the cross.

There is no evidence of a typological link with the Old Testament ⁴

The literary character and exalted poetic style of these mysterious Odes would already in themselves be sufficient explanation for the use of the term 'wood' which in both Greek and Syriac ⁵ is repeatedly employed for the cross of Christ ⁶

In addition, the Jewish-Christian tone which pervades both the content and style ⁷ of the Odes may have contributed to influence the choice of the term 'wood' for the cross of Christ ⁸

¹ The Odes of Solomon are quoted according to the translation (from the Syriac) and page in the edition of J. RENDEL HARRIS-A. MINGANA, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, vol. II, Manchester 1920.

² R. H. CONNOLLY, *The use of the Didache in the Didascalia*, JThS 24 (1923) p. 153 translates instead of expansion 'standing erect'.

³ Cf. also J. RENDEL HARRIS-A. MINGANA, *op. cit.* II, p. 357.

⁴ We shall return to these texts in the second chapter under the heading 'sign'.

⁵ Cf. J. RENDEL-A. MINGANA, *op. cit.* II, p. 356.

⁶ Cf. our remarks on the use of ξυλον in Melito's Paschal homily on p. 47.

⁷ Cf. J. DANIELOU, *Les Odes de Salomon*, in DB, Suppl. VI, c. 678 ff.

J. H. BERNARD, *The Odes of Solomon* (TS 8, 3), Cambridge 1912, p. 22 ff.

J. QUASTEN, *Patrology I*, Utrecht 1950, p. 161.

⁸ In *Ode 37*, 1 (II, p. 388) mention is also made of the orante attitude 'I stretched out my hands to the Lord'. The cross symbolism, however, is not stressed in this text.

7. *The Sibylline Oracles*

In the *Sibylline Oracles*¹ the word σταυρός only occurs for the cross of Christ as an acrostic, namely in Book VIII, 244–250.

We find the term ξύλον for the Cross in three cases:

V, 255–258 (p. 116f.):

εἷς δέ τις ἔσσεται αὐτίς ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἔξοχος ἀνὴρ,
 δς παλάμας ἤπλωσεν ἐπὶ ξύλου πολυκάρπου,
 'Εβραίων ὁ ἄριστος, δς ἡλίον ποτε στήσει
 φωνήσας ῥήσει τε καλῇ καὶ χεῖλεσιν ἀγνοῖς.²

J. Geffcken³ sees in these lines an allusion to the Second Coming of Christ. H. Lanchester⁴ refers them to the first Coming of Christ and to the crucifixion. P. Prigent⁵ thinks that they refer to Joshua.

The expression ἀπλοῦν (τάς χεῖρας) is employed elsewhere for the attitude of the crucified.⁶ Moreover, as we have already seen, ἐπὶ ξύλου is a stereotyped combination in connection with the cross of Christ. In this interpretation the epithet πολύκαρπος may conjure up the image of the tree of the Cross, already familiar to us since Ignatius, *ad Trall.* 11, 2 (p. 95). In addition, Ignatius saw the Passion as a fruit (καρπός) of the crucified Lord (*ad Smyrn.* 1, 2; p. 106): δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν . . . καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκί, ἀφ' οὗ καρποῦ ἡμεῖς, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεομακαρίστου αὐτοῦ πάθους.

It seems justifiable to regard this passage as a Christian interpretation⁷ and to see in it, like J. Geffcken, an allusion to the Second

¹ The *Sibylline Oracles* are quoted according to text and page in the edition of J. GEFFCKEN, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (GCS 8), Leipzig 1902.

² Translation: And then, from the heavens, will come an excellent One, who has stretched out His arms on the Cross, rich in fruit, the best of the Hebrews who one day will cause the sun to stay its course by speaking with beautiful voice and pure lips.

³ J. GEFFCKEN, *Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina* (TU, N.F. 8, 1), Leipzig 1902, p. 29; compare. *Idem*, *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, p. 117. GEFFCKEN has altered the MSS reading στήσεν to στήσει, which he justifies by referring to Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* VII, 26, 2 (CSEL 19, p. 665). 'Et statuet (at the end of the world) *Deus solem triduo, ne occidat*'.

⁴ H. LANCHESTER, in CHARLES, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* II, Oxford 1913, p. 402.

⁵ P. PRIGENT, *op. cit.*, p. 122, footnote 2.

⁶ Among others, in Hippolytus, *De Antichristo* 61 (Hippolytus I, 2, p. 42): δς ἐκτείνας τὰς ἀγίας χεῖρας ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ ἤπλωσε δύο πτέρυγας, δεξιαν καὶ εὐώνυμον. Also in: *Une Homélie inspirée du traité sur la Pâque d'Hippolyte* 55, 2 (Homélie Pascales I; SC 27), Paris 1950, p. 183: . . . τὸν πρὸ ἐωσφόρου βλέποντες ἀπλούμενον. Cf. G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, fasc. 1 (1961), p. 187 f.

⁷ Cf. J. B. FREY in DB, Suppl. I (1928), c. 427 under *Apocryphes de l'Ancien*

Coming of Christ but at the same time to regard line 256 as a reference to the crucifixion.

VI, 26–28 (p. 132): The close of the Hymn to Christ is a glorification of the Cross (*gloria crucis*). The blessed wood (ξύλον), upon which God Himself was stretched, will not remain on this earth but will gaze upon the heavenly dwelling, when God's ardent eye shall kindle:

ὦ ξύλον, ὦ μακαριστόν, ἐφ' οὗ Θεὸς ἐξετανύσθη,
οὐχ ἔξει σε χθών, ἀλλ' οὐρανὸν οἶκον ἐσώψει,
ἡνίκα ἀστράψει(ε) τὸ σόν, Θεός, ἔμπυρον ὅμα.

J. Daniélou considers this glorification of the Cross to be a typically Jewish-Christian element in the *theologia crucis*.¹ In the *Evangelium Petri* 39–42² the Cross also shares in the *gloria Christi* at the *resurrectio* – *ascensio*.

The ὅταν ξύλον κλιθῇ καὶ ἀναστῇ from the so-called Scriptural quotation in Ps. Barnabas 12, 1 appears to follow the same line of thought.³ VIII, 244–245 (p. 157): In the famous acrostic from Book VIII, 217–250 Ἰησοῦς Χρυστός Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ Σταυρός the cross of Christ is referred to in line 245 as ξύλον:

σῆμα δέ τοι τότε πᾶσι βροτοῖς, σφρηγὶς ἐπίσημος
τὸ ξύλον ἐν πιστοῖς, τὸ κέρας τὸ ποθοῦμενον, ἔσται

'Then shall the wood (of the Cross), the beloved horn, be a sign for all mortals, a clear seal upon the faithful'.⁴

That the cross of Christ is indeed referred to here is attested not only by the acrostic σταυρός (lines 244–250) but also by the term κέρας.⁵

Just as in the *Odes of Solomon*, the poetic, mysterious character of the content and style of these Oracles is already in itself sufficient explanation for the use of ξύλον. No direct link, however, can be traced to any particular Old Testament text.

Testament 'Un seul passage (i.e. in Book V) est à éliminer, vv 256–259, comme manifestement chrétien'.

For Book VI and VIII compare: E AMANN, in DB, Suppl I (1928), c 531 ff, under *Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament*

¹ Cf J DANIÉLOU, *Judéo-Christianisme*, p 29 and p 291

² Cf L VAGANAY, *L'Évangile de Pierre*, Paris 1930², p 296–302

³ See p 27 f.

⁴ J. GEFFCKEN, in E. HENNECKE, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, Tübingen 1924² p 407, translates these lines as follows.

'Dann wird aber für alle Sterblichen ein Zeichen, ein deutliches Siegel, das Kreuz auf den Glaubigen sein, das süsse Horn'

In our translation we have reversed the two lines.

⁵ In our second chapter these lines will be quoted again under the heading 'Horn' on p 102 and also in the section on the sign of the cross on p. 174 f.

8. *The Apocrypha of the New Testament*

The Apocrypha of the New Testament are grouped here according to themes in connection with the Cross, disregarding the customary division into *Evangelia*, *Acta*, *Epistulae* and *Apocalypses*.

Ev. Petri 39–42: In the *Evangelium Petri*¹ the Cross is mentioned at Christ's resurrection. At the moment of the resurrection, according to this apocryphal gospel, the watchers saw: 'three men come out of the sepulchre, and two of them sustaining the other, and a Cross (σταυρός) following after them . . . And they heard a voice out of the heavens saying: "Hast thou preached unto them that sleep?" And an answer was heard from the Cross (saying) "Yes".'²

As J. Daniélou rightly remarks³ the Cross here is no longer the *lignum passionis* but the *crux gloriosa* which shares in the triumph of Christ. We have already come across this theme in *Or. Sib.* VI, 26–28 and recognized it in the ξύλον ἀναστῆ from the so-called Scriptural quotation in Ps. Barnabas 12, 1.⁴

It is interesting to remark that here an independent existence, a distinct personality is attributed to the Cross.⁵

Apoc. Petri, ch. 1: In the first chapter of the *Apocalypsis Petri*,⁶ just as in the *Evangelium Petri*, mention is made of the *gloria crucis*. This time, however, at the Parousia. At His Second Coming the Cross will precede Christ⁷: 'For the coming of the Son of God shall not be plain (*i.e.* foreseen).⁸ But as the lightning that shineth from the east unto the west, so will I come upon the clouds of heaven with a great host in my majesty; with my Cross going before my face . . .'.⁹

Judging by the English and French translations we may assume that the word for 'Cross' used here goes back to the Greek σταυρός. The theme is the same as in the σιμεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου of Mt. 24, 30.

¹ Cf. L. VAGANAY, *loc. cit.*

² We follow the translation of M. R. JAMES, in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1953⁵, p. 92 f.

³ J. DANIÉLOU, *Judéo-Christianisme*, p. 290 f.

⁴ According to the *Acta Pionii* 13, 8 too (R. KNOPF-G. KRÜGER, *op. cit.* p. 52), the Cross (σταυρός) shares in the glory of the Ascension.

⁵ Cf. L. VAGANAY, *op. cit.* p. 303.

⁶ This section of the *Apocalypsis Petri* is not preserved in the fragment of Akhmim (cf. ER. KLOSTERMANN, *Reste . . . der Petrusapokalypse . . .*, *Kleine Texte* 3, Bonn 1908², p. 8–12), but derived from the Ethiopic version, translated and published by S. GRÉBAUT in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* V (XV), Paris 1910.

⁷ M. R. JAMES, *op. cit.* p. 511.

⁸ S. GRÉBAUT, *op. cit.* p. 209 translates: 'connu'.

⁹ S. GRÉBAUT (*loc. cit.*) translates: 'alors que ma Croix ira devant ma face'.

Epist. Ap., ch. 16: In the *Epistula Apostolorum*¹ too there is mention of the Cross at the Parousia where, just as in the *Apocalypsis Petri*, the Cross goes before Christ. To the Apostles' question, how He will return at His Second Coming, Christ answers: 'Verily I say unto you, I shall come like the sun, when it is risen, and my brightness will be seven times the brightness thereof. The wings of the clouds shall bear me in brightness, and the sign of the Cross shall go before me . . .'.²

Judging from the translations, in particular that from the Coptic,³ in which the Greek words *σημεῖον* and *σταυρός* are not translated, we are justified in assuming also here that the original Greek text read τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ, whereby *σημεῖον* may be an allusion to Mt. 24, 30.⁴ *ch. 9* In this chapter we find the testimony of the Apostles concerning the death of our Lord on the Cross: 'Concerning whom (*i.e.* Christ) we testify that the Lord is He who was crucified by Pontius Pilate and Archelaus between the two thieves (Ethiopic translation: and with them He was taken down from the tree of the Cross)'.⁵

The phrase 'the tree of the Cross' may possibly be influenced by the text of Acts 13, 29: 'And when they had Him taken down from the tree (*καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου*) . . .'.⁶

¹ Cf. C. SCHMIDT, *Gesprache Jesu mit seinen Jungern nach der Auferstehung* (TU 43), Leipzig 1919, who gives a German translation of a Coptic papyrus fragment alongside the translation from the Ethiopic version by I. WAIJNBERG.

² M. R. JAMES, *op. cit.* p. 490.

³ C. SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* p. 57 translates: 'Indem das Zeichen (*σημεῖον*) (des) Kreuzes (*σταυρός*) vor mir her ist'.

The translation from the Ethiopic (I. WAIJNBERG) reads (*op. cit.* p. 56): 'Indem mein Kreuz vor mir einerschreitet'.

So also in the translation from the Ethiopic, published by L. GUERRIER-S. GRÉBAUT in PO IX, 3, Paris 1913, p. 199 'Tandis que devant moi ira ma Croix'.

⁴ We find the same theme in the Apocalypse of Elias 32 (G. STEINDORFF, *die Apokalypse des Elias*, (TU, N F. 2, 3a, Leipzig 1899, p. 87): 'Wenn der Gesalbte (*i.e.* Christ) kommt, so kommt er . . ., indem er geht auf den Wolken des Himmels und indem das Zeichen des Kreuzes vor ihm herzieht' (translation from the Coptic).

⁵ M. R. JAMES, *op. cit.* p. 488.

Cf. C. SCHMIDT, *op. cit.* p. 36 f. The Cross is only mentioned specifically in the Ethiopic translation (I. WAIJNBERG, p. 36). 'Und mit ihnen zugleich nahm man ihn vom Holze des Kreuzes herab'.

L. GUERRIER-S. GRÉBAUT, *op. cit.* p. 194 translate: 'Avec eux on le fit descendre de l'arbre de la Croix'.

⁶ Mention is also made of the crucifixion in the *Evangelium Veritatis* (*ed. cit.*, p. 20): 'On le cloua à un bois; il fixa la disposition (*διάταγμα*) du Père sur la Croix (*σταυρός*). O, le grand enseignement si sublime. C'est jusqu'à la mort qu'il s'abaisse, alors que la Vie éternelle le revêt'.

Acta Joannis, chs. 98–101: The theme of the shining and living Cross is also found in the *Acta Joannis*.¹

In ch. 98 (II, 1, p. 199f.) mention is made of the cross of light (σταυρός φωτός), distinguished from the cross of wood (σταυρός ξύλινος) mentioned in ch. 99. For the convenience of the people various names are given to this cross of light: 'Word (Λόγος) Mind (Νοῦς), Jesus, Christ, Door (Θύρα), Way (Ὁδός), Bread (Ἄρτος), Seed (Σπόρος), Resurrection (Ἀνάστασις), Son (Υἱός), ... Life (Ζωή), Truth (Ἀλήθεια) ...'.² Then the author continues³: 'And by these names it is called as toward men. But that which it is in truth, as conceived of in itself and as spoken of unto you, it is the marking-off of all things (διορισμός πάντων), and the firm uplifting (ἀναγωγή βεβαία)⁴ of things fixed out of things unstable (τῶν πεπηγμένων ἐξ ἀνεδράστων) and the harmony of wisdom (ἁρμονία σοφίας)'.⁵

The cross of light is something entirely different from the cross of wood on Calvary, but Christ did not suffer upon that wooden cross. The knowledge of this mystery is, however, a Gnosis, not intended for the mass (chs. 99–100).

This interpretation of the Cross betrays Gnostic tendencies.⁶ Apart from the many names attributed to the cross of light in ch. 98 which, for the rest, find no support in early orthodox literature, the term for the cross of Christ in these Acts is σταυρός.⁷

Martyrium Petri, chs. 9–10: The cross as symbol of the mysterious reality which is Christ himself is also found in the *Martyrium Petri*, ch. 9 (I, p. 96),⁸ where the symbolism of the shape of the cross is

¹ The *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* are always quoted according to text, volume and page in the edition of R. A. LIPSIVS (Volume I), Leipzig 1891, and M. BONNET (Volumes II, 1 and II, 2), Leipzig, resp. 1898 and 1903.

² These names for the Cross all indicate a symbolism in which the Cross is a symbol of Christ.

³ M. R. JAMES, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

⁴ ἀναγωγή conjecture of HILGENFELD, JAMES, ROBINSON; βεβαία conjecture of ZAHN.

⁵ Cf. *Acta Joannis* 99: 'This cross, then, is that which fixed all things apart (διαπηξάμενος τὰ πάντα) by the Word, and separated off (διορίσας) the things that are from those that are below' (M. R. JAMES, *op. cit.*, p. 255).

⁶ Cf. Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* I, 1, 6; Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta* 42, 1; Hippolytus, *Elenchus* VI, 31, 5–6.

⁷ E. AMANN (DB, Suppl. I, c. 492 f.) is of the opinion that the original *Acta Joannis* are not Gnostic but Catholic: '... mettons qu'ils proviendraient d'un de ces catholiques, plus ou moins touchés par certaines doctrines gnostiques, gens dont l'existence n'a rien d'invraisemblable'.

⁸ The *Martyrium Petri* forms a section of the *Acta Petri* (*Actus Vercellenses*), incorporated in the *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* I.

referred to ' . the cross of Christ, who is the Word stretched out (τεταμένος Λόγος), the one and only, of whom the Spirit saith "For what else is Christ but the Word (Λόγος), the Sound (Ἦχος) of God?" So that the Word is the upright beam (τὸ ὀρθὸν ξύλον) whereon I am crucified And the Sound is that which crosseth it (τὸ πλάγιον), the nature of man' ¹

Here too the Cross is a symbol of Christ the upright beam represents the Word, the transverse beam human nature ²

In ch 10 (*ibid*) Peter thanks the Lord for revealing this mystery of the Cross. 'Now whereas thou hast made known and revealed those things unto me, o Word of Life, called now by me wood (ξύλον),³ I give thee thanks' ⁴

Here too appears the mysterious identification of Christ and Cross ⁵

Kerygma Petri The Preaching of Peter (*Kerygma Petri*)⁶ deserves to be mentioned here separately In a fragment included in Clement of Alexandria's *Strom* VI, ch 15, 128 (II, p 496f) the apostles' method of preaching is explained They base themselves, according to the author, on the Books of the prophets, all of which either in vague terms (αἰνίγματα) and symbols (παρὰβολαί) or directly (αὐθεντικῶς) and in plain words (αὐτολεξίς) speak of Jesus Christ of His coming (παρουσία), of His death and the Cross (σταυρός), of His resurrection (ἐγερσις) and ascension (ἀνάληψις) All that He was to suffer (ἀ εἶδει αὐτὸν παθεῖν) was

¹ M R JAMES, *op cit* p 335

² The same symbolism recurs in the *Martyrium beati Petri apostoli a Lino episcopo conscriptum* 14 (I, p 17 f) 'Christus est Verbum et Vox Dei Verbum significat istud rectum lignum in quo crucifigor Et quia vox proprie corporis est, quod linamenta recipit, quae divinitati non imputantur, lateralia crucis humanam naturam praetendere noscuntur'

In the *Martyrium Andreae* prius too (ch 14, II, 1 p 54) we find in a symbolic explanation of the four extremities of the Cross, the upper end of the upright beam referred to as a symbol of the Logos (M R JAMES, *op cit* p 359) 'The one part of thee stretches up toward heaven, that thou mayest signify the heavenly Word' (JAMES reads ἄνω instead of ἄνθρωπον)

³ Or 'Word, called now by me tree of Life (ζωῆς ξύλον)'

⁴ M R JAMES, *op cit* p 335

⁵ In the *Martyrium beati Petri a Lino episcopo conscriptum* 15 (I, p 18) this identification has disappeared 'Ista tu mihi, Domine Jesu Christe, nota fecisti, et revelanti tibi quae dixeram de ligno a me praedicato gratias ago'

Concerning the *Acta Petri* E AMANN (DB, Suppl I, c 498) remarks 'Un roman d'origine exclusivement chrétienne, quoiqu'on en ait dit L'on chercherait vainement dans toute l'oeuvre une trace indiscutable de Gnosticisme'

⁶ Cf ER KLOSTERMANN, *Reste des Petrus-evangeliums, der Petrusapokalypse und des Kerygma Petri* (Kleine Texte 3), Bonn 1908², p 13-16

described there. The apostles believed in the fulfilment of the Scriptures in Christ: 'For we know that God really planned this so and we assert nothing without Scriptural evidence (ἀπὲρ γραφῆς)'.

Although no particular figures or predictions with reference to the Cross are mentioned in this fragment,¹ the purport of this document is in agreement with what we have already noted in connection with ξύλον in Acts 5, 30; 10, 39; 1 Peter 2, 24 concerning Peter's preaching.²

Summing-up: From this short survey of the New Testament Apocrypha, as far as they fall within the field of our research, it has become evident that typological connections between the Old Testament and the cross of Christ are foreign to these early texts. The only exception is the *Kerygma Petri*, where at least the 'typological method' of preaching is expressly stated.

There is, however, in this literature a type of mysticism associated with the Cross: the cross (*crux gloriosa*) participates in the *gloria Christi* at the Resurrection-Ascension and at the Second Coming.

The identification of cross and Christ which we find in some texts, betrays Gnostic tendencies.

We find also a cross symbolism: the Cross is a symbol of the mysterious reality which is Christ.³

Concerning the cross terminology in these early Apocrypha the following may be stated: although we have noted in a few isolated cases the term ξύλον or σημεῖον (τοῦ σταυροῦ), nevertheless the usual term appears to be σταυρός.⁴

9. *Tertullian*

It may seem surprising that part of Tertullian's works, written in Latin, will also be included in this research. It will be done for the following reasons:⁵ Tertullian, who lived partly in the second, partly in the third century, was undoubtedly influenced by the Greek language, used generally in Liturgy and Christian literature in the second century. Moreover, he spoke both Greek and Latin himself, and some of his lost works were in Greek. As far as themes are concerned,

¹ Presumably they are alluded to (in general) by the terms ἀνέγματα and παραβολαί.

² See p. 14 ff. Compare also 1 Peter 1, 10 ff.

³ See also the second appendix (p. 211 f.).

⁴ We shall return to this Apocryphal literature in the section on the sign of the cross (p. 175 ff.).

⁵ Cf. also our introductory notes, on p. XXI f.

Tertullian's *adversus Marcionem* III, on which *adversus Iudaeos* is based, is strongly influenced by Justin and Irenaeus. It seemed important to investigate if the various names for the Cross, especially those we found in Justin, are 'translated' in Tertullian's Latin vocabulary.

Before going into details concerning the figures and predictions of the Cross and their terminology in Tertullian,¹ we wish to mention a passage from *Ad nationes* and one from *adversus Marcionem* for the sake of the descriptions of the cross given therein and for the terminology.

ad Nat I, 12 (p. 30ff.) The Christians were apparently called by the pagans 'adorers of the cross'. Tertullian rejects this libel² as applicable only to the Christians. 'Whosoever declares us to be priests of the cross, will be our partner in the priesthood'. In order to prove this proposition Tertullian, having first postulated that the cross (*crux*) is a *signum de ligno*, gives a description of it. 'Every piece of wood which is fixed in an upright position, is a part of the cross and, indeed, the largest part'.³ But we (the Christians) are reproached with the cross in its entirety, that is, with its transverse beam (*antenna*) and with that projection for sitting upon (*cum illo sedilis excessu*).⁴ In this respect you (the pagans) deserve more blame, who have attributed a divine devotion to a piece of wood that is incomplete in shape, which others (the Christians) have consecrated complete in shape.

adv Marc III, 18, 4 (p. 532) In *adversus Marcionem* too, with reference to the *cornua unicornis* of Deut. 33, 17, Tertullian takes occasion to speak of the shape of the cross. 'In the case of the transverse beam too (*antenna*) which forms part of the cross, the ends are called *cornua* (= κέρατα), and *unicornis* is the name given to the midway stake (*mediae stipitis palus*).'

The argumentation in *ad Nationes* seems a little laboured, even for Tertullian,⁵ and likewise the reference to the Cross as *cornua unicornis*

¹ Tertullian is everywhere quoted according to text and page (consecutive paging) of the edition in the *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Tertullianus* (two volumes I *Opera catholica*, II *Opera Montanistica*), Turnholt 1954.

² Cf. *Apologeticum* 16, 6-8.

Cf. also Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 29, 6 (CSEL 2, p. 43) '*Cruces etiam nec columus nec optamus*'.

³ The text of this sentence reads '*Pars crucis, et quidem maior, est omne robur quod directae statione defigitur*'.

⁴ Cf. Justin, *Dial.* 91, 2 and Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* II, 36, 2.

⁵ Cf. CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Observations sur la langue et le style de Tertullien*, Études II, Rome 1961, p. 241 ff.

in *adv. Marcionem*, but this at least may be laid at Justin's door.¹

As far as the terms are concerned: *crux* is the term to refer to the cross as a whole. For the upright beam we find here *stipitis palus*, for the transverse beam the name *antenna* and for the extremities *cornua*. Noteworthy too is the mention of the *sedilis excessus*.

Bearing in mind the aims of our research we have confined any further examination of Tertullian (and some degree of limitation was indeed necessary) to those sections of his work in which he speaks *ex professo* of Christ, prefigured in the Old Testament, predicted by the prophets, that is, to *adversus Marcionem III* and *adversus Iudaeos* 9–13. Since *adv. Iudaeos* is modelled upon *adv. Marcionem III*, we shall use the latter as the basis of our study, giving where it seems indicated, also the text of *adv. Iudaeos*.²

adv. Marc. III, 18, 1–2 (p. 531): For a proper understanding of Tertullian's argumentation it is important first to be acquainted with Marcion's idea concerning Christ's passion on the Cross. Tertullian formulates it as follows³:

¹ Cf. Justin's interpretation of the κέρατα μονοκέρωτος in *Dial* 91, 2. We return to this text of Tertullian in the second chapter under the heading 'Horn', on p. 103 f.

² Concerning Tertullian's authorship of *adversus Iudaeos* 9–14 may be referred to GOSTA SAFLUND, *De pallio und die stilistische Entwicklung Tertullians*, Lund 1955, p. 122 ff., 201 ff. His conclusion (on p. 206) reads as follows 'Auf Grund unserer Untersuchung über das Verhältnis der zweiten Hälfte von *adv. Iud* zu seiner ersten Hälfte kommen wir also zu dem Ergebnis, dass die Schrift in ihrer jetzigen Gestalt eine Einheit ausmacht, wenn derer Disposition auch während des Verfassens verändert worden sein mag, und zwar derart, dass die Darstellung allmählich voller geworden ist als vom Anfang an vorgesehen war'. This thesis was directed against M. AKERMAN, *Über die Echtheit der letzteren Hälfte von Tertullians adversus Iudaeos*, Lund 1918, and the opinion of AEM. KROYMANN in his edition of Tertullian's *adversus Iudaeos* in the *Corpus Vindobonense* (CSEL 70, p. 286).

Cf. also G. QUISPÉL, *De bronnen van Tertullianus' adversus Marcionem*, Utrecht 1943, p. 61–79 (chs. 9–14 are excerpts from *adv. Marc. III*, collected by a compiler).

Cf. further, the recent study of H. FRANKLE, *Q S F Tertullianus adversus Iudaeos*, mit Einleitung und kritischem Kommentar, Wiesbaden 1964, esp. p. LIIf. (Tertullian is the author of chs. 9–14).

³ Cf. *adv. Iud.* 10, 1 (p. 1374).

The text of *adv. Marc. III*, 18, 1–2 (I, p. 531) reads as follows:

De exitu plane, puto, diversitatem templatis inducere, negantes passionem crucis in Christum Creatoris praedicatam et argumentantes insuper non esse credendum, ut in id genus mortis exposuerit Creator filium suum, quod ipse maledixerat: 'maledictus', inquit, 'omnis qui pependerit in ligno'. Sed huius maledictionis sensum differo digne a sola praedicatione crucis, de qua nunc maxime quaeritur, quia et alias antecedit rerum probatio rationem. De figuris prius edocebo. Et utique vel

1. Marcion denies that Christ's passion on the Cross (*passio crucis*) was proclaimed beforehand.¹
2. Marcion cannot accept that the Creator delivered up His Son to that death upon which He himself had pronounced a curse. For God had said: 'He is accursed of God that hangeth on a tree (*maledictus omnis qui pependerit in ligno*; cf. Deut. 21, 23)'.

To these objections on the part of Marcion Tertullian proposes the following arguments²: The question of the meaning of the curse, referred to in Deut. 21, 23, must be preceded by another question, namely, was the Cross in the Salvation history referred to beforehand. This leads Tertullian to a discussion of the foreshadowing and the prediction of the Cross (chs. 18–19). A proclamation of the mystery of the Cross (*sacramentum istud*)³ without any preceding references to it would serve only to arouse more disbelief and scandal. The more exalted the mystery, the more reason why it had to be veiled in the shadow of images (*obumbrandum*), so that man, having difficulty in understanding, would always be obliged to ask God for the grace of insight.⁴

It is already evident from this introductory consideration how much value Tertullian attaches to the typological significance of the Old Testament, particularly where it concerns the *mysterium crucis*.

maxime sacramentum istud figurari in praedicatione oportebat, quanto incredibile, tanto magis scandalo futurum, si nude praedicaretur, quantoque magnificum, tanto magis obumbrandum, ut difficultas intellectus gratiam Dei quaereret.

¹ In this manner we have attempted to express the double aspect here contained in the meaning of '*praedicare*'. the proclaiming (*κηρύσσειν*) as the message of Salvation, and the referring to beforehand. For it seems to us that *praedicare* here does not correspond to the Greek *κηρύσσειν*, but to the Greek *προκηρύσσειν* which Justin several times employs, also in connection with figures of the Passion. So, among others, in *Dial.* 91, 4 (the brazen serpent) and *Dial.* 111, 4 (the sign of blood on the houses of the Jews in Egypt). The Latin *praedicare* seems to correspond both to *κηρύσσειν* and *προκηρύσσειν*.

Cf. CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Praedicare, tractare, sermo*, in *Études* II, p. 64, footnote 3

Cf. also R. BRAUN, *Deus Christianorum. Recherches sur le vocabulaire doctrinal de Tertullien*, Paris 1962, p. 430 ff.

Further: H. HOLSTEIN, *La tradition des Apôtres chez saint Irénée*, in *RSR* 36 (1949), p. 229–270, esp. 246 ff.

² We are here paraphrasing the contents of this passage (ch. 18, 1–2).

Cf. *adv. Iud.* 10, 1 5 (p. 1374 ff.).

³ Cf. *adv. Iud.* 10, 5 (p. 1375). *sacramentum passionis eius*.

⁴ Cf. for this paraphrase. HUGO RAHNER, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung*, p. 91.

A similar consideration of the meaning of the τύποι and παραβολαί may be found in Justin, *Dial.* 90, 2 (p. 204).

After this introductory consideration Tertullian gives us five figures of the Cross

- 1 *Isaac portans lignum* (Gen 22, 6)
2. *Cornua unicornis* in the blessing of 'Joseph' (Deut 33, 17)
3. Christ as the '*taurus*' in the cursing of Simeon and Levi (Gen 49, 6)
4. Moses' attitude of prayer in the struggle of Israel against Amalek (Ex 17, 10ff)
5. The brazen serpent (Num 21, 8f)

Only the first and last-mentioned figures appear to be of interest in connection with our examination of the term *lignum*

Isaac portans lignum Isaac destined as a sacrifice by his father, himself carried the wood (*lignum*) of sacrifice¹ and thus prefigured Christ who was given by His Father to be sacrificed and bore the wood of His passion (*lignum suae passionis barulantis*)²

Tertullian has the same play on words which we also noticed in Clement of Alexandria (ξύλα-ξύλον), though to an even stronger degree in so far as Tertullian in both cases speaks of *lignum*³

In *adv Iud* 13, 20-21 (p 1388f) this Isaac typology recurs, now, however, linked with two ideas which we find frequently in typological exegesis

- a A figure does, indeed, show similarity with that which is prefigured, but is itself only a figure, a shadow, not the reality (the fulfilment)⁴

¹ Gen 22, 6 LXX gives the reading ξύλα

² We find the same theme in *adv Iud* 10, 6 (p 1376)

³ For Clement of Alexandria, *Paed* I, 23, 1 (ξύλα-ξύλον) see p 69 We find the same stress on *lignum* in Augustine, *Sermo de Vet Test* 2, 8 (CC 41, p 15) '*Abraham levat filium super lignum Antequam veniat filius ad locum sacrificii, portat lignum, quo levandus est*'

In *Sermo de Vet Test* 19, 3 (*op cit* p 253) Augustine says '*Isaac sibi ligna portabat, Christus crucem propriam barulabat*'

⁴ '*Sed quoniam haec fuerunt sacramenta, quae temporibus Christi percipienda servabantur, et Isaac tum ligno solutus est, ariete oblato in vepre cornibus haerente, et Christus suis temporibus lignum humeris suis portavit inhaerens cornibus crucis*' We find this same idea expressed also with reference to the Isaac typology in Melito of Sardis, *fragm IX* (E J GOODSPEED, *op cit* p 312) 'Ἰσαακ δὲ οὐκ ἔπαθεν τύπος γὰρ ἦν, in Clement of Alexandria, *Paed* I, 23, 2 (I, p 104) οὐκ ἔπαθεν δὲ ('Ἰσαάκ) εἰκότως ἄρα τὰ πρωτεῖα τοῦ πάθους παραχωρῶν τῷ Λόγῳ, and in Origen, *Hom in Gen* VIII, 9 (Origenes VI, p 84) '*Diximus, puto, quod Isaac formam Christi gereret, sed et aries hic nihilominus formam Christi gerere videtur Sed quomodo Christo uterque conveniat, et Isaac qui non est iugulatus, et aries qui iugulatus est, operae pretium est noscere Patitur ergo Christus, sed in carne et pertulit mortem, sed caro, cuius hic aries forma est Verbum vero in incorruptione permansit, quod est secundum spiritum Christus, cuius imago est Isaac*'

- b. This similarity between foreshadowing and reality is only partial. Thus Isaac and the ram were both figures of Christ, but each in a different aspect; Isaac: *portans lignum ad sacrificium*; the ram: *in vepre cornibus haerens*.¹ Thus, according to Justin. *Dial.* III, 2 (p. 227), Moses in the battle against Amalek was a τύπος τοῦ σταυροῦ and Joshua indicated the name Jesus (τύπος τῆς τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐπικλήσεως), since one person was not capable of bearing both mysteries.²

It is clear that the term *lignum* for the cross of Christ, corresponding to the Greek ξύλον, was influenced by the text of Gen. 22, 6 and that Tertullian is giving here a traditional, typological interpretation.

The brazen serpent: The last figure from *adv. Marc.* III, 18,³ that of the brazen serpent, also deserves to be mentioned in this connection. 'Why', Tertullian wonders, 'although the making of any image or likeness was forbidden, did Moses nevertheless place a brazen serpent in a hanging posture on a piece of wood (*ligno impositum*) as a sign of salvation?'

Tertullian's *lignum* does not correspond here to the σημεῖον of Numbers 21, 8 f. (LXX). We have already remarked that Ps. Barnabas, when speaking of the brazen serpent, also gives: τὸν ὄφιν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐπικείμενον (ch. 12, 7; p. 25) as a Scriptural quotation. Tertullian's treatment of this theme appears, however, to be inspired rather by Justin's *Dial.* 94, 1-3 and 112, 1-3 although the latter does not employ the term ξύλον but σημεῖον with reference to the Cross.⁴

Moreover, it is striking that, to the best of our knowledge, Tertullian does not employ the term *signum*, corresponding to the Greek σημεῖον, for any figure of the Cross. The reason for this may be that in Tertullian's time *signum* (i.e. *crucis*) had already developed a distinct meaning, namely that of our 'sign of the cross'.⁵ Then it is understandable that Tertullian's choice should have fallen here upon *lignum*, a term which has such strong typological connections with the cross of Christ.⁶

¹ Cf. Melito of Sardis, fragm. IX-XII, *op. cit.* p. 312 f.

² Cf. J. DANIELOU, *Sacramentum Futuri*, p. 97-111: La typologie du sacrifice d'Isaac.

³ Cf. *adv. Iud.* 10, 10 (p. 1377): '*aereum serpentem ligno impositum*'. In the rendering of this story in *De idol.* 5, 3 f (p. 1105) neither *lignum* nor *signum* is employed.

⁴ We shall examine these texts of Justin in the second chapter under the heading 'sign' (on p. 137 ff.).

⁵ See the section on the sign of the cross in the second chapter (on p. 148 ff.).

⁶ In Augustine too, among others, we find *lignum* used in this connection; cf.

adv. Marc. III, 19 (p. 533f.): In this chapter Tertullian gives us five predictions of the Cross or the crucifixion:

1. Ps. 95, 10: *Dominus regnavit a ligno*.
2. Is. 9, 5: *Cuius imperium factum est super humerum ipsius*.
3. Jer. 11, 19: *Iniciamus lignum in panem eius*.
4. Ps. 21, 17: *Foderunt manus meas et pedes*.
5. Ps. 21, 22: *Salvum fac me ex ore leonis et de cornibus unicornis humilitatem meam*.

The first (to which the second is linked) and third predictions are most important from our point of view.

Ps. 95, 10: Dominus regnavit a ligno.¹ We came across this reading of Ps. 95, 10 for the first time as a *testimonium crucis* in Justin's *Dial.*, 73.² For Tertullian too this reading is undoubtedly the correct one: '*Age nunc, si legisti penes David: Dominus regnavit a ligno, ...*'. He too interprets this Psalm verse as a prediction of Christ's rule from the moment that He conquered death by His passion unto death on the wood of the Cross: '*... Christum, qui exinde a passione ligni superata morte regnavit*'. He stresses this idea again in the following sentence: '*Cur Christus non regnasse dicatur a ligno, ex quo ligno crucis mortuus regnum mortis exclusit?*' From this emphasis on the word *lignum* it is obvious that *lignum*, corresponding to Justin's ξύλον, is for Tertullian the key-word in this prediction as reference to the cross of our Lord.³

Isaiah 9, 5: '... cuius imperium factum est super humerum ipsius'.⁴ Justin too had already, in *I Apol.* 35, 2 (p. 50), interpreted this text of Isaiah as a prediction of the δύναμις τοῦ σταυροῦ,⁵ but to the best of our knowledge Tertullian is the first to combine Ps. 95, 10 and Is. 9, 5 as a *testimonium crucis*. This is understandable since in both texts the central idea is the *regnare a ligno*: '*Christus Jesus, novae gloriae et potestatem et sublimitatem suam humero extulit, crucem scilicet, ut secundum superiorem prophetiam exinde Dominus regnaret a ligno*'.

Serm. de Vet. Test. 6, 7 (ed. cit. p. 65): '*Ait Moysi: "suspende serpentem aereum in media heremo in ligno"*'.

¹ Cf. *adv. Iud.* 10, 11 (p. 1378); 13, 11 (p. 1386).

² See p. 36 f.

³ Cf. Ps. Cyprianus, *De montibus Sina et Sion*, 9 (CSEL 3, 3, p. 113): '*Adnuntiate regnum Dei in gentibus, quia Dominus regnavit a ligno*'. Also Augustine, *Enarr.* in Ps. 95 (CC 39, p. 1350): '*Dicite in nationibus: Dominus regnavit a ligno*'.

⁴ Cf. *adv. Iud.* 10, 11-12 (p. 1378).

⁵ So also Cyprian, *Test.* II, 21 (*op. cit.* p. 89), quoting, among other texts, Is. 9, 5 under the title: '*Quod in passione crucis ... omnis virtus sit et potestas*'.

*Jeremiah 11, 19: Iniciamus lignum in panem eius.*¹ Tertullian subsequently cites this text of Jeremiah as referring to the Cross: '*Hoc lignum et Hieremias tibi insinuat . . .*' Justin² and Melito³ had already utilized this text of Jeremiah as a *testimonium crucis* but Tertullian gives in addition an interpretation of this *testimonium* by explaining the expression '*in panem eius*'. '*In panem eius*', he comments, '*utique in corpus*'. *Panis*, according to Tertullian, here means *corpus Christi*. He elucidates this with a reference to the words with which the Eucharist was instituted: '*Sic enim Dominus in evangelio quoque vestro (i.e. Lk. 22, 19) revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans, ut et hinc iam eum intellegas corporis sui figuram pani dedisse, cuius retro corpus in panem propheta figuravit, ipso Domino hoc sacramentum postea interpretaturo*'.⁴

In complete accordance with tradition⁵ Tertullian sees in the *lignum*, corresponding to the Greek ξύλον, a reference to the cross of Christ.

adv. Iud. 13: In *adv. Iud. 13*⁶ we again find a series of *testimonia crucis*, partly the same as in *adv. Marc. III, 18* and *19*:

1. Is. 65, 2: '*Expandi manus meas tota die*', referred to the *passio Christi*.⁷
2. Ps. 21, 17f.: '*Exterminaverunt manus meas et pedes, dinumeraverunt*

¹ Cf. *adv. Marc. IV, 40, 3* (p. 656); *adv. Iud. 10, 12* (*loc. cit.*).

² See p. 35f.

³ See p. 48.

⁴ Translation. For so did the Lord reveal it also in your gospel (Lk. 22 19) by calling His Body bread, so that you can understand that from then on He gave His Body the form of bread, whose Body in the time before, the prophet referred to symbolically as bread, a mysterious figure that the Lord himself would later explain.

For the meaning of '*sacramentum*' in this and following quotations from Tertullian see AD KOLPING, *Sacramentum Tertullianum*, Regensburg-Munster 1948, p. 50: 'Im besonderen wird das messianische Heil (bei Tertullian) deshalb *sacramentum* genannt . . . , zumal weil es in den Bildern des AT verhüllt vorgebildet war'. Compare *adv. Marc. III, 18, 1-2* (see p. 82f) and *adv. Marc. V, 6, 2* (p. 678): '*Creator autem tam ipse notus quam et sacramenta eius, palam scilicet decurrentia apud Israhel, sed de significantibus obumbrata, in quibus sapientia Dei delitescebat, inter perfectos narranda suo in tempore, proposita vero in proposito Dei ante saecula*'.

Cf. also CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens*, Études I², p. 233 ff.

⁵ Cf. also Cyprian, *Test. II, 20* (*op. cit.* p. 87); under the title: '*Quod cruci illum fixum essent Iudaei*', Cyprian quotes, among other texts. '*Venite, mittamus lignum in panem eius*'.

⁶ *Adv. Iud. 13, 10-12* (p. 1386 ff); *13, 17-21* (p. 1388 f).

⁷ Cf. Cyprian, *Test. II, 20* (*loc. cit.*).

omnia ossa mea; ipsi autem contemplati sunt et viderunt me'.¹ The *exterminare* is used only, according to Tertullian, of someone who *in ligno suspenditur*.²

3. Ps. 68, 22: '*In siti mea potaverunt me aceto*'. This is not directly a prediction of the Cross but of Christ's thirst on the Cross which was quenched with vinegar.³
4. Ps. 95, 10: '*Ipse David regnaturum Dominum ex ligno dicebat*'.
5. Ps. 1, 3: '*Lignum tulit fructum suum*' (cf. Joel 2, 20).
6. Deut. 28, 66: '*... lignum passionis Christi, unde vita pendens vobis credita non est*'.⁴
7. Ex. 15, 25: '*Hoc lignum ... in sacramento, cum Moyses aquam amarum indulcavit*'.
8. II Kings 6, 1ff.: '*Huius ligni sacramentum in Helisaeo*' (wood and axe).
9. Gen. 22, 6: '*Hoc lignum Isaac ad sacrificium portabat*'.

The first three *testimonia* are not based upon the typology of the *lignum*; we shall therefore leave them out of consideration here.

Test. 6.: The word *lignum* is mentioned, not in the quotation from Deuteronomy 28, 66 (*testimonium 6*) itself, but in connection with it: "*Et lignum, inquit, tulit fructum suum*". *Non illud lignum in paradiso, quod mortem dedit protoplastis, sed lignum passionis Christi, unde "vita pendens vobis credita non est"*. As appears from *adv. Iud.* 11, 9 (p. 1382) Tertullian is also familiar with the addition *in ligno* in the text of Deut. 28, 66: '*... sicut Moyses ante nuntiabat in Exodo (!) dicens: "Eiciemini de terra ... et erit vita tua pendens in ligno ante oculos tuos, et non credes vitae tuae"*'. Irenaeus too⁵ had interpreted Deut. 28, 66 as *pendens in ligno*.⁶

¹ Cf. Cyprian, *loc. cit.*: '*Foderunt manus meas et pedes*'.

² GOSTA SAFLUND, *op. cit.* p. 142, writes: '*Exterminare* wird hier synonym mit *fodere* verwendet als technischer Term für die spezielle *atrocitas*, die den Extremitäten eines Gekreuzigten zuteil wurde'.

Cf. *adv. Marc.* III, 19, 5 (p. 534): '*Foderunt, inquit, manus meas et pedes, quae propria sunt atrocitas crucis*'.

Cf. H. TRANKLE, *op. cit.*, p. XIX, p. XLII

³ Cf. Jn. 19, 28 ff.; Mt. 27, 48.

⁴ Cf. also Cyprian, *Test.* II, 20 (p. 87).

⁵ *Adv. Haer.* IV, 20, 2; *Dem.* 79.

⁶ Cyprian (*loc. cit.*) gives Deut. 28, 66 as a *testimonium crucis*, without, however, the addition '*in ligno*'.

In Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 16, 5 (CSEL 25, p. 443) Faustus rightly reproaches the *Catholica* that they have added '*in ligno*' to the text '*... videbunt vitam suam pendentem et non credent Cui vos quidem adicitis "in ligno", nam non habet*'.

The *testimonia* 4 - 5 - 7 - 8 - 9 are based upon the typology of the *lignum*. *Testimonia* 4 and 9 have already been discussed with reference to *adv Marc* III, 18-19. The *testimonia* 5 - 7 - 8 now follow.

Test 5 "Et lignum, inquit, tulit fructum suum." Non illud lignum in paradiso, quod mortem dedit protoplastis, sed lignum passionis Christi. . . Did Tertullian intend to quote here Joel 2, 22 'Lignum attulit fructum suum' (Vulgate)? Then it would be the first and only time in our research that we find this quotation from Joel as a *testimonium crucis*. Or is this 'quotation' a reference to Ps 1, 3, already linked with the Cross by Ps Barnabas 11, 6-8 and Justin, *Dial* 86, 4? The addition 'inquit' may refer in the context to David, the author of *testimonium* 4 (Ps 95, 10). At any rate, the word *lignum* was decisive for the adoption of this text as a *testimonium*. The antithesis *lignum (mortis) in paradiso*, contrasted with *lignum passionis Christi, unde vita . . .*, is a theme which we have already met in Irenaeus.

Test 7 'Hoc lignum tunc in sacramento, cum Moyses aquam amaram indulcavit'. Here, in contrast with the six preceding *testimonia*, we have mention of a figure of the Cross, namely the wood which Moses, on God's command, cast into the bitter water of Marah, thus rendering the water sweet (Ex 15, 25). Justin too had already quoted this wood (ξύλον) as a *testimonium ligni*.¹ However, he established no connection with the baptismal water as Tertullian does here 'Hoc enim lignum tunc in sacramento, cum Moyses aquam amaram indulcavit, unde populus, qui siti periebat in eremo, bibendo revixit, sicuti nos, qui de saeculi calamitatibus extracti, in quo commorabamur siti perientes, id est Verbo divino non proluți, ligno² passionis Christi per aquam potantes fidem quae est in eum,³ reviximus'.⁴

We find also the reading 'Videbitis vitam vestram pendentem in ligno' in *Hom* 17, 1, incorporated in *Homelies inédites de saint Chromace d'Aquilée* (J. IGMARIÉ, *art. cit.* p. 275).

Cf J. DANIELOU, *Das Leben das am Holze hangt*, p. 25 ff.

¹ Justin, *Dial* 86, 1, cf. also *Dial* 131, 3.

² The reading 'ligno' in 1PR, 'lignu' in NF, so A. KROYMANN.

³ The reading *eum* in TPNR, A. KROYMANN reads 'eo' (F).

Cf Acts 26, 18 ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις πλῶ-ει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ, and Irenaeus *adi Haer* IV, 38, 1 (II, p. 232) 'vivificabat hominem de serpentis plaga per fidem quae est in eum'.

⁴ Translation. For this wood was then referred to in a mysterious, symbolical manner, when Moses sweetened the bitter water which the people who were dying of thirst in the desert drank and revived. So are we, who were drawn from the wretchedness of the world in which we lived, dying of thirst, that is, not refreshed by the Word of God, revived by the power of the wood of Christ's passion, since through the baptismal water we imbibed faith in Him.

We have already seen Cross, baptismal water and faith linked as σύμβολα of the rebirth in Justin, *Dial.* 138, 2-3 with reference to the salvation of Noah in the Ark.¹

Test. 8.: 'Huius ligni sacramentum ... in Helisaeo ...' Just as Justin, *Dial.* 86, 6 and Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* V, 17, 3-4 before him, Tertullian considers the lignum (ξύλον) in the incident of Elisha (II Kings 6, 1-7) to be a figure of the Cross: 'Quid manifestius huius ligni sacramento, quod duritia huius saeculi mersa est in profundo erroris, et a ligno Christi, id est passionis eius, in baptismo liberatur, ut quod per lignum olim perierat in Adam, id restitueretur per lignum Christi?'²

With Justin Tertullian has in common the link between Cross and Baptism, with Irenaeus the antithesis: *lignum in paradiso* - *lignum passionis*.

Summing-up: When we review the result of our examination of this section of Tertullian's works we note the following:

For Tertullian too the word '*crux*' appears to be the usual term for the cross of Christ. He employs it with striking frequency as the defining word in compound expressions. We find it in:

adv. Marc. III, 18: *passio crucis* - *praedicatio crucis* - *cornua, id est extima crucis* - *antenna, id est pars crucis* - *virtus crucis* - *habitus crucis* - *vis dominicae crucis*. The word *crux* does not occur on its own. *adv. Marc.* III, 19: *lignum crucis* (a combination not found up to now in the Greek texts already discussed) - *praedicatio dominicae crucis* - *atrocia crucis* - *cornua unicornis, id est apices crucis*. In addition the term '*crux*' is used five times on its own.

However, in cases where Tertullian is establishing a connection between a *lignum* from the Old Testament and the Cross, he prefers to use *lignum* for the cross of Christ, in order to emphasize this typological connection in conformity with his statement in *adv. Marc.* III, 18, 1-2. So he employs the term *lignum*:

¹ See p. 45f. Ambrose too connects Ex. 15, 25 with Cross and baptismal water in *De Sacr.* II, 13, ed. cit. p. 80: '*Amara ergo aqua* (cf. II, 12), *sed ubi crucem Christi, ubi acceperit caeleste sacramentum, incipit esse dulcis et suavis. Et merito dulcis in qua culpa revocatur. Ergo si in figura tantum valuerunt baptismata, quanto amplius valet baptismata in veritate*'

² Translation. What is more evident than the mysterious, symbolical meaning of this wood, namely, that the obduracy of this world is sunk in the depths of error and by the wood of Christ, that is, of His passion, is saved in baptism, so that what was once lost through the wood in Adam, is restored by the wood of Christ's cross?

adv. Marc. III, 18:

1. In the quotation from Deut. 21, 23.
2. In the figure of Isaac *portans lignum* referring to Christ with the *lignum passionis*. (Gen. 22, 6).
3. At the mention of the brazen serpent, *ligno impositum* (Numbers 21, 8f.).

adv. Marc. III, 19:

1. In the quotation from Ps. 95, 10 *Dominus regnavit a ligno*, Tertullian links this text with Isaiah 9, 5. Reflecting on this he twice uses *lignum* and once *lignum passionis* for the cross of Christ.
2. The quotation from Jeremiah 11, 19 *iniciamus lignum in panem eius* twice leads Tertullian to employ the term *lignum* for Christ's cross.

With the exception of the *ligno impositum* (of the brazen serpent) the use of *lignum* for the Cross can in every case be traced back to a reflection upon a particular *lignum* text from the Old Testament.

adv. Iud. 13: In *adv. Iud.* 13 a remarkable preference is shown for the term *lignum*: *suspendere in ligno* – *regnare a ligno* – *fructus huius ligni* – *lignum passionis* – *hoc lignum in sacramento* – *lignum passionis Christi* – *huius ligni sacramentum* – *lignum Christi, id est passionis eius* – *lignum Christi* – *hoc lignum (in sacramento)* – *Christus lignum humeris portavit*. Only once do we find the word *crux* employed in this chapter. This preference for *lignum* is undoubtedly influenced by the apologetic (directed at the Jews) character of this work. Here too the term *lignum* in the text of the Old Testament was a decisive factor of its being mentioned as a *testimonium crucis* in:

1. Ps. 95, 10: *Dominus regnavit a ligno*.
2. Ps. 1, 3: *Lignum tulit fructum suum*.
3. Ex. 15, 25: *Hoc lignum in sacramento*.
4. II Kings 6, 1ff.: *Huius ligni sacramentum in Helisaeo*.
5. Gen. 22, 6: *Hoc lignum Isaac ad sacrificium portabat*.

The *testimonia crucis* given by Tertullian in the chapters discussed, appear for by far the greater part to be traditional. If we compare his series of *testimonia* with those *testimonia crucis* from the Greek literature of before Tertullian, it would appear that his main sources are Justin and Irenaeus.¹

Tertullian has the following *testimonia crucis* in common with Justin:

¹ Cf. G. QUISPÉL, *op. cit.*, chapter IV: *Justinus en Irenaeus als bronnen voor het derde Boek adversus Marcionem*, p. 57–79.

In *adv. Marcionem* and in *adv. Iudaeos*:

1. The *cornua unicornis* from Deut. 33, 17 (cf. *Dial.* 91, 1-3).
2. Moses' attitude of prayer in Ex. 17, 10ff. (cf. *Dial.* 90, 4-5).
3. The brazen serpent from Numbers 21, 8f. (cf. *I Apol.* 60, 2-4; *Dial.* 91, 4; 94, 1-3; 112, 1-3).
4. The *Dominus regnavit a ligno* in Ps. 95, 10 (cf. *Dial.* 73, 1-2).
5. The *cuius imperium factum est super humerum ipsius* in Is. 9, 5 (cf. *I Apol.* 35, 2).
6. The *iniciamus lignum in panem eius* from Jeremiah 11, 19 (cf. *Dial.* 72, 2-3).
7. The *foderunt manus meas et pedes* from Ps. 21, 17 (cf. *I Apol.* 35, 3; 38, 4; *Dial.* 97, 3).
8. The *salvum fac me ex ore leonis et de cornibus unicornis* from Ps. 21, 22 (cf. *Dial.* 105, 1-2).

Of the ten *testimonia crucis* from *adv. Marc.* III, 18-19 Tertullian has eight in common with Justin. Not one of these eight, however, is to be found in the series of *testimonia* from Justin, *Dial.* 86.

Only in *adv. Iudaeos* 13:

9. The *expandi manus meas tota die* from Isaiah 65, 2 (cf. *I Apol.* 35, 3; 38, 1; *Dial.* 97, 2).
10. The wood in the bitter water of Marah from Ex. 15, 25 (cf. *Dial.* 86, 1; 131, 3).
11. The wood and the axe of Elisha from II Kings 6, 1-7 (cf. *Dial.* 86, 6).

With Irenaeus Tertullian has the following *testimonia crucis* in common: in *adv. Marcionem* and in *adv. Iudaeos*:

1. The *Isaac portans lignum* from Gen. 22, 6 (cf. *adv. Haer.* IV, 10, 1).
2. Moses' attitude of prayer in the struggle against Amalek from Ex. 17, 10ff. (cf. *adv. Haer.* IV, 38, 1; IV, 50; *Dem.* 46).
3. The brazen serpent from Numbers 21, 8f (cf. *adv. Haer.* IV, 4, 2).
4. The *cuius imperium factum est super humerum ipsius* from Isaiah 9, 5 (cf. *Dem.* 56).
5. The *foderunt manus meas et pedes* from Ps. 21, 17 (cf. *Dem.* 79).

Only in *adv. Iudaeos* 13:

6. The *expandi manus meas tota die* from Isaiah 65, 2 (cf. *adv. Haer.* IV, 55, 3; *Dem.* 79).
7. The *erit vita tua pendens* from Deut. 28, 66 (cf. *adv. Haer.* IV, 20, 2; *Dem.* 79).
8. The wood and the axe of Elisha from II Kings 6, 1-7 (cf. *adv. Haer.* V, 17, 4; fragm. XXVI).

In addition, the antithesis of the tree of the Cross, contrasted with the tree of Knowledge (cf. *adv. Haer.* V, 16, 2; 17, 3-4; 19, 1; *Dem.* 34).

From this comparison it appears that Tertullian is strongly bound by tradition, to such an extent even that he employs traditional arguments, derived from the Old Testament, to combat Marcion who, in point of fact, rejects the Old Testament.¹

Despite this influence on the part of Justin and Irenaeus, his series of *testimonia* do render probable the existence of collections of quotations from the Old Testament, grouped under certain key-words, in the style of Cyprian's *Testimonia ad Quirinum*.² The selection made by Tertullian from these *testimonia* and also the arrangement of them presuppose that these collections were utilized with the utmost liberty.

10. *Concluding remarks on the terms cross and wood (of the Cross)*

In the New Testament there exists a fairly sharp distinction between the terms σταυρός and ξύλον for Christ's cross.

The evangelists, notably in the the Passion-narrative, all employed the word σταυρός which was evidently the usual term in Greek for the Roman crucifixion.

It appears from the Acts and the first Epistle of Peter that in the primitive catechesis the apostles sought to draw closer to the Jewish way of thought; this is understandable since it was their own atmosphere and that of their audience. This led them to the use of ξύλον.

Paul made a conscious attempt to break this connection with the Jewish way of thought. His use of σταυρός is a symptom of the universalism of the *doctor gentium*. Moreover, in Paul the term σταυρός develops into the symbol or synthesis of Redemption in Christ.

Ignatius of Antioch appears to be strongly influenced by the Pauline trend of thought, which explains his exclusive use of σταυρός.

With Ps. Barnabas the case is different. Admittedly the usual term for him appears to be σταυρός, but where there is question of a correspondence between the Old and the New Testament (and Ps. Barnabas deliberately seeks such associations), a ξύλον text from the Old Testa-

¹ Cf. MARCEL SIMON, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

² N. J. HOMMES, *op. cit.* p. 13.

P. PRIGENT, *op. cit.* p. 16-28.

PER BESKOW, *op. cit.* p. 74-89.

Cf., however, J. P. AUDET, *L'hypothèse des Testimonia*, in RBi 70 (1963), p. 381-405.

ment or even merely the evocation of the Old Testament world of thought is for him sufficient motivation for the use of ξύλον. Here we see for the first time in the same author a certain tension between the two terms.

The same can be said of Justin. For him too σταυρός appears to be the usual word. On the other hand, in five cases in his Dialogue the word ξύλον occurring in an Old Testament text appears for him to contain a reference to the cross of Christ.

It is our opinion, however, that the attitude of Ps. Barnabas and Justin differs from that in the primitive catechesis. There we see a deliberate association with the Jewish way of thought, a reversion, one might say. In Ps. Barnabas and Justin there is no question of a harking back to Jewish ideology, but of the pointing forward of data of the Old Testament, associated with the term ξύλον, to their complete realization in the New.

The exclusive use of ξύλον in Melito's Paschal homily could be considered as a deliberate evocation of an Old Testament climate, as expressed in Exodus 12. Nevertheless, it is possible to wonder whether motives of a literary-aesthetic nature may also have played their part in determining his use of ξύλον.

In Irenaeus we are left with the impression that the dividing line between σταυρός and ξύλον has become blurred. For him the choice between the two words is in many cases not a personal one, but a keeping in line with Scriptural phrases. In his works we are conscious for the first time of a New Testament influence in the choice of vocabulary. This influence affects both his use of σταυρός and of ξύλον. The Old Testament influence continues to operate at the same time. The word ξύλον for both the tree of Knowledge in Paradise and for the Cross undoubtedly helped to establish the antithesis between the two. Jacob's ladder and the wood of Elisha gave rise to the association Cross. This is true also of the *lignum* of the plough.

In Clement of Alexandria the sporadic use of σταυρός is remarkable. This may be explained, as in the case of the Apologists except Justin, by a certain embarrassment for the shame of the cross. With Clement the term ξύλον is almost entirely free from its Jewish-Christian associations. It tends increasingly to become a metaphor, particularly suitable for ambiguous usage.

Just as in Melito the term σταυρός is absent from the Odes of Solomon and the Sibylline Oracles. In this case too the Jewish-Christian background of these poems may serve as an explanation for the

exclusive use of ξύλον. It is also possible, however, that here too literary motives had their part to play.

In the earliest New Testament Apocrypha, on the other hand, the term σταυρός predominates. In the use of ξύλον the absence of any typological link between the Old and the New Testament is striking.

In those sections of his work under discussion Tertullian appears to be strongly influenced by Justin and Irenaeus. We find practically the same themes recurring. In his choice of the terms *crux* and *lignum* he remains close to tradition. Noteworthy, yet at the same time understandable, is his strong preference for *lignum* in *adv. Iudaeos* 13.

The *testimonia crucis*, as found in Ps. Barnabas, Justin, Melito, Irenaeus and Tertullian render probable the existence of collections of quotations from the Old Testament, compiled chiefly for catechetical and apologetic purposes.

If our interpretation of the further development is correct, the original Jewish-Christian meaning of ξύλον gradually became obscured. The finding of Christ's cross, however, imparted to ξύλον/*lignum* a new significance: that of the true wood of the Cross upon which Christ suffered unto death.¹ With the adoption of the Good Friday liturgy from Jerusalem and the dissemination of the fragments of the true Cross, the expression *lignum crucis* gained real meaning. The term ξύλον/*lignum* with Old Testament associations also continued to exist, principally in catechetical literature.

We will end with the following quotation from Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum* 27 (CSEL 2, p. 120f.): '*De cataclysmo humanum genus arca liberavit, Abraham ligna unici filii humeris*

¹ Cf. Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Hist. Eccl.* X, 8 (Eusebius II, 2, p. 970): *lignum salutare (ter)*, *lignum beatum* (these terms are used in connection with the invention of the Holy Cross).

Among others, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Epist. ad Constantium*, 3 (PG 33, c. 1068) who refers to the true Cross with: τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον and *Cat.* 4, 10 (PG 33, c. 469); *Cat.* 10, 19 (*ibid.* c. 685); *Cat.* 13, 4 (*ibid.* c. 776) where Cyril employs τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ to refer to the Cross distributed in particles throughout the entire world.

So we find in the *Itinerarium Aethiopiae*, 37, 2 (H. PÉTRÉ, *Éthérie, Journal de voyage*; SC 21, p. 234) the true Cross referred to as: *lignum (sanctum) crucis et sanctum lignum*.

Cf. F. J. DÖLGER, *Vita Makrinae, Die eiserne Fingerring mit der Kreuzpartikel*, in AC 3 (1932), p. 100-106.

P. JOUNEL, *Le culte de la Croix dans la Liturgie romaine*, in LMD 75 (1963), p. 68-91.

imponit, de Aegypto recedentem Dei plebem lignea virga protexit, lignum dulcem saporem amararum myrrarum fontibus reddidit, lignea virga ex spiritali petra salutaris unda profertur, et ut Amalech vinceretur, circa virgam Moyses expansis manibus extenditur. Scalae lignearum patriarcha incumbentem angelum somniat, et lex Dei arcae creditur lignearum, ut his omnibus quasi per gradus quosdam ad lignum crucis salus hominum perveniret. Quapropter lignum crucis caeli sustinet machinam, terrae fundamenta corroborat, adfixos sibi homines ducit ad vitam'.

HORN(S) – ROD – SIGN

A. HORN(S)

1. *Introductory remarks*

Besides 'cross' and 'wood (of the cross)' the word 'horn(s)' also occurs in early Christian literature as a term for the cross of our Lord.

Although this term owes its origin chiefly to Old Testament typology, the point of departure for the establishing of such a typological connection was undoubtedly:

1. a certain similarity in form between 'horn(s)' and 'cross'.¹
2. a generally widespread symbolism of the horn(s) as a sign of physical or moral strength.²

We find certain traces of this horn symbolism in profane Greek literature, notably in Cephalion³: κέρας . . . ὅπερ ἐστὶ δύναμις and in Diogenianus⁴: κέρατα . . . ἀνδρείας ὑπόληψις.

In addition, it is probable that the meaning 'yard', 'sail-yard' of the Greek κέρας,⁵ employed alongside the more usual κεραία, also played its part in this cross typology and symbolism.⁶

¹ This will appear more clearly in our discussion of Justin, Tertullian and Hippolytus.

² Cf. I. SCHEFTELOWITZ, *Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen*, in ARW 15 (1912), p. 451–487.

W. BREDE KRISTENSEN, *Symbol en werkelijkheid*, Zeist 1962, p. 139–159.

³ Cephalion, second century A. D. This quotation is incorporated in F. JACOBY, FGH II, A, fragm. 93, ch. 7, p. 445.

⁴ Diogenianus, also second century A.D. Cf. for this quotation: E. LEUTSCH-F. SCHNEIDEWIN, *Corp. Paroem. Graec. I*, Cent. VII, 89, p. 302.

⁵ Cf. Meleager (second to first century B.C.), *Epigr. V*, 203 (in H. STADMÜLLER, *Anth. Pal. I*, p. 166).

W. DITTENBERGER, *Or. Gr. Inscr. II*, 674, 30 (p. 418).

Lucian, *Amores* 6.

⁶ Cf. Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* III, 18, 4; *adv. Iud.* 10, 7: *Nam et in antemna (navis), quae crucis pars est, extremitates cornua vocantur.*

The meaning 'extremity' ¹ may also have been of influence.²

It will appear, however, from the early Christian texts, that the Fathers arrived at the expression 'horn(s)' not so much on account of any visual or symbolic similarity or because of any analogy in meaning with κέρασ/cornu in profane usage, but on account of the Old Testament reminiscences which were associated with the word 'horn(s)'.³

If we examine the use of the word κέρασ in the Septuagint, we see that it does not occur in the meaning of cross, no more than in profane literature. If we then examine the texts in which the Fathers in the early Christian period saw a typological connection with the Cross, they appear to be only the following:

Gen. 22, 13: κριδς εἰς κατεχόμενος ἐν φυτῷ Σαβέκ τῶν κεράτων.

Deut. 33, 17: κέρατα μονοκέρωτος τὰ κέρατα αὐτοῦ.

Psalms 21, 22: ἀπὸ κεράτων μονοκερώτων (σῶσον) τὴν ταπεινώσιν μου.

Habakkuk 3, 4: κέρατα ἐν χερσὶν αὐτοῦ.

It is a surprising fact that a number of other κέρασ-texts from the Old Testament, which to our mind would equally merit the establishing of a typological connection with the Cross, are not quoted as *testimonia crucis*. In the first place we think of the expression 'a horn of salvation' (κέρασ σωτηρίας) which we find in II Sam. 22, 3 (= Ps. 17, 3).⁴ In addition one could point to texts like:

I Sam. 2, 10: 'He shall exalt the horn of His anointed' (ὑψώσει κέρασ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ), in the canticle of Hannah.

Psalms 74, 11: 'The horns of the righteous shall be exalted' (ὑψωθήσεται τὰ κέρατα τοῦ δικαίου).

Psalms 91, 11: 'My horn shall be exalted like that of the unicorn' (ὑψωθήσεται ὡς μονοκέρωτος τὸ κέρασ μου).

Psalms 111, 9: 'His horn shall be exalted in honour' (τὸ κέρασ αὐτοῦ ὑψωθήσεται ἐν δόξῃ).

The fact that the Fathers did not utilize such texts is in our opinion another indication that in their catechesis and their arguments against the Jews they had recourse to a fixed but limited series of *testimonia*, while other Scriptural texts were not included in their dissertations.⁵

¹ Cf. Flavius Philostratus (second to third century A.D.), *Vita Apollonii* II, 18.

² Cf. Tertullian, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. W. FOERSTER, in ThW III, p. 668 f. s.v. κέρασ.

⁴ Cf. *idem*, p. 669: 'κέρασ σωτηρίας bedeutet eine Macht des Heils, eine hilfreiche, heilschaffende Macht'.

⁵ Cf. PER BESKOW, *op. cit.* p. 76.

We do not exclude either the influence of Jewish-Rabbinic traditions. In Midrash Rabbah on Lam. 2, 3¹ ten horns are mentioned which are spoken of in the Old Testament. We shall quote here the section of this Rabbinic commentary which is important for our research. The commentary itself is certainly based on older traditions: 'There are ten horns: the horn . . . of Isaac, as is said: "Caught the ram in the thicket by its horns" (Gen. 22, 13),² the horns of Joseph, as is said: "And his horns are the horns of the unicorn" (Deut. 33, 17), . . . the horns of the Torah, as it is written: "Horns hath He from His hands" (Hab. 3, 4) . . . There are some who add the horn of the Messiah, as it is written: "And He will give strength unto His king, and exalt the horn of His anointed" (I Sam. 2, 10). Here we have three of the four Scriptural texts which are also associated with the Cross in early Christian literature, namely Gen. 22, 13; Deut. 33, 17; Hab. 3, 4. The quotation from I Sam. 2, 10 is not found as a *testimonium crucis*. This theme: 'the horn of the Messiah' (κέρας Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ), which we also find in the Jewish Eighteen Benedictions-prayer,³ appears nevertheless to have had its influence on the text of the New Testament. We find an indication of this in Lk. 1, 69, where the Messiah is referred to as 'a horn of salvation' (κέρας σωτηρίας).⁴

Nowhere in the New Testament, however, do we find κέρας used in connection with the Cross.

2. Justin Martyr

The first writer in early Christian literature⁵ to establish this connection between κέρας and Cross, referring thereby to the Old Testa-

¹ The Midrash Rabbah on Lamentations, translated by A. COHEN, edited by H. FREEDMAN-M. SIMON, London 1951, p. 168 f.

² In a footnote (*loc. cit.*) the author adds: 'allusion to the ram, which was sacrificed in place of Isaac'.

³ In the 15th Benediction of the 'Eighteen Benedictions-prayer' (Bab. rec.) the horn of the Messiah is also mentioned: 'Speedily cause the offspring of David, thy servant, to flourish, and let his horn be exalted by thy salvation, because we wait for thy salvation all the day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who causest the horn of salvation to flourish'. This quotation is derived from S. SINGER, *The authorized daily Prayer Book*, London 1929¹⁴, p. 49. In 'A companion to the authorized daily Prayer Book', London 1922, p. LXV, I. ABRAHAMS dates this Benediction as 'probably pre-Maccabean'.

Cf. H. STRACK-P. BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch II*, München 1924, p. III.

⁴ Cf. II Sam. 22, 3 (= Ps. 17, 3).

Cf. J. SCHMID, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, (Regensburger Neues Testament), 1955³ p. 60.

⁵ The word κέρας occurs only in two places in the Apostolic Fathers: Ps. Barna-

ment, is Justin. In the development of his plan: to render the crucifixion of the Messiah acceptable to the Jew Trypho by having recourse to the Old Testament, Justin also refers to Deut. 33, 17. Here, mention is made of the blessing which Moses, before his death, pronounced over Joseph (the tribes Ephraim and Manasseh) ¹:

Dial. 91, 1-3 (p. 205): 'His beauty is that of a bull; his horns are those of a unicorn; with them he shall push all the nations to the end of the earth'.

In the first place Justin's motivation of this blessing is interesting (*ibid.*) ²: 'In order to proclaim the power (ἰσχύς) of the mystery of the Cross, God spoke through the person of Moses . . .'

After the above mentioned blessing Justin tries to make it clear why this blessing contains a reference to the Cross (*ibid.*) ³: the words 'the horns of the unicorn (κέρατα μονοκέρωτος)' can only refer to the shape (τύπος) of the cross. Justin attempts to prove this by a description of the cross as the horns of the unicorn ⁴: 'For one beam (of the cross) is vertical, and when the other beam (of the cross) is put to it, it projects above like a horn. The extremities on both sides (the two arms) also resemble horns, linked with this one horn. That which is attached to the centre too is a 'projection' like a horn, upon which the crucified person rests'.⁵

Although Justin was probably not successful in making Trypho accept what he wanted to prove, one thing is clear to us: Justin himself saw in the text of Deut. 33, 17 a reference to the Cross.⁶ That he

bas 4, 5 (p. 13) in a quotation from Daniel 7, 7 f. (description of a vision of beasts) and in Clement of Rome 52, 2 (p. 63) in a quotation from Ps. 68, 32.

¹ Ταύρου τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ, κέρατα μονοκέρωτος τὰ κέρατα αὐτοῦ, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔθνη κερατιεῖ ἅμα ἕως ἀπὸ ἄκρου τῆς γῆς.

² Καὶ γὰρ δι' ἄλλου μηνύων τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ μυστηρίου τοῦ σταυροῦ ὁ Θεὸς διὰ Μωυσέως εἶπεν . . .

³ Cf. Μονοκέρωτος γὰρ κέρατα οὐδενὸς ἄλλου πράγματος ἢ σχήματος ἔχει ἂν τις εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀποδείξει, εἰ μὴ τοῦ τύπου δις τὸν σταυρὸν δεικνυσιν.

⁴ "Ὁρθιον γὰρ τὸ ἐν ἐστὶ ξύλον, ἀφ' οὗ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀνώτατον μέρος εἰς κέρας ὑπερηρμένον, ὅταν τὸ ἄλλο ξύλον προσαρμωσθῇ, καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ὡς κέρατα τῷ ἐνὶ κέρατι παρεζευγμένα τὰ ἄκρα φαίνονται· καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πηγνύμενον ὡς κέρας καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξέχον ἐστίν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐποχοῦνται οἱ σταυρούμενοι.

⁵ Cf. J. C. TH. OTTO, *Justin's Opera* I, 2 p. 313.

G. ARCHAMBAULT, *op. cit.* II, p. 87 ff.

⁶ From Justin's description here it is not possible to determine what horned animal he had in mind in his description of the κέρατα μονοκέρωτος. It is probably not the mythical unicorn with its long, straight horn in the middle of its forehead, which we find mentioned for the first time in Greek literature by Ctesias of Cnidus, (end 5th century B.C.) in his τὰ Ἰνδικα (*ed.* J. BAEHR, Frankfurt 1824, p. 254 f.) and which became known in the Graeco-Roman world princi-

was not alone in this appears from a fragment of Apollinaris of Hierapolis,¹ in which our crucified Lord is referred to as: 'He who is exalted on the horns of a unicorn (ὁ ὑψωθείς ἐπὶ κεράτων μονοκέρωτος)'.

We shall find an explanation similar to Justin's in the works of Tertullian and Hippolytus.

As we have already said,² both Irenaeus and Tertullian mention the horn-shaped projection in the middle of the longitudinal beam of the cross. In neither, however, does the word 'horn' occur which is precisely the point of Justin's description.³

Justin also applies the part of the sentence: 'with them (*i.e.* with his horns) he shall push all the nations to the ends of the earth' to the effect of the Cross: 'Struck, that is, wounded by the blows of his horns (κερατισθέντες) some from among all the nations have turned to God through the power of this mystery . . ., but for the unbelievers this same 'cross' (τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα) becomes a sign unto destruction and judgment'.

Dial. 105, 2 (p. 221): In ch. 98 Justin quotes Ps. 21 in order to interpret it in the following chapters in the light of the passion and glorification of Christ. In ch. 105, 2 he gives his explanation of verse 22: 'Save me from the mouth of the lion, and my afflicted soul from the horns of the unicorns (ἀπὸ κεράτων μονοκερώτων)'. 'Here too', says Justin, 'he tells us by what manner He (*i.e.* Christ) was to be killed, namely by crucifixion. For I have already explained to you that "horns of unicorns" can only refer to the shape of the cross (τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ)'.⁴

pally via Aristotle, *Historia Animalium* 663 A and Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* VIII, 21 (31).

Cf. M. WELLMANN in PW V, c. 2114 f. s.v. 'Einhorn'. Justin probably had no particular familiar animal in mind but based his interpretation on the 'Wortlaut' of the expression κέρατα μονοκέρωτος from Deut. 33, 17 and Ps. 21, 22, taken literally, without realizing that μονοκέρωτος is an incorrect translation of the Hebrew *Re'em*, which probably means a wild ox.

The same cannot be said of Tertullian; cf. *adv. Marc.* III, 18, 3: (p. 532): '... non utique rhinoceros destinabatur unicornis nec minotaurus bicornis ...'

In later times the mythical unicorn was taken as a symbol of Christ. Cf., among others, Physiologus ch. 25 (*Spicilegium Solesmense* III, p. 355; ed. J. B. PITRA).

¹ Cf. J. C. TH. OTTO, CAC IX, Jena 1872, p. 487.

² See p. 52 and p. 81.

³ The horn-shaped projection in the middle of the longitudinal beam of the cross is only mentioned by Christian writers.

Cf. CH. DAREMBERG-EDM. SAGLIO, *op. cit.* I, 2 p. 1575 s.v. 'cruix'.

⁴ . . . ὁμοίως μηνύοντος δι' οὐ πάθους ἐμελλεν ἀποθνήσκειν, τοῦτ' ἔστι σταυροῦσθαι· τὸ γὰρ "κεράτων μονοκερώτων" ὅτι τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔστι μόνου, προεξηγησάμεν ὑμῖν.

So Justin gives here the same explanation of the κέρατα μονοκερώτων from Ps. 21, 22 as of the κέρατα μονοκέρωτος from Deut. 33, 17 to which he indeed refers. The use of the word σχῆμα in ch. 105, 2 (just as in ch. 91, 3) proves more clearly than the word τύπος in ch. 91, 2 that visual symbolism played its part in this typological interpretation. We may assume, however, from the rather laboured explanation of the κέρατα μονοκέρωτος in ch. 91, 2 that this visual symbolism cannot provide the complete explanation of this typology.

3. *The Sibylline Oracles*

We also find the word κέρας used as a reference to the Cross in the Sibylline Oracles:

Or. Sib. VIII, 244f. (p. 157): Along with the term ξύλον the word κέρας is also found in the acrostic σταυρός (verses 244–250) as a name for the Cross:

σῆμα δέ τοι τότε πᾶσι βροτοῖς, σφρηγὶς ἐπίσημος
τὸ ξύλον ἐν πιστοῖς, τὸ κέρας τὸ ποθοῦμενον, ἔσται ¹

The context does not point to any particular text from the Old Testament. Yet throughout the entire passage (verses 244–250) the similarity in themes (derived from the Old Testament, expressed in key-words) with Justin is remarkable. Besides ξύλον and κέρας (verse 245) we can also point to ῥάβδος (verse 248).² Nevertheless, as we have already noted earlier, even here this 'prophetic' literature does not lift its mysterious veil.

The word κέρας as a term for the Cross does not occur anywhere else in early Apocryphal literature.³

¹ Translation:

Then shall the wood (of the Cross), the beloved horn, be a sign for all mortals, a clear seal upon the faithful

² See also our sections on ξύλον (p. 75), on ῥάβδος (p. 115 f) and on the sign of the cross (p. 174 f).

³ In Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* I, ch. 5, 17, 1 (I, p. 100) we find a very mysterious expression. With reference to the theme 'Unless you become like children' (Mt. 18, 3) Clement remarks 'They who only know God as a Father, are truly children, simple, childlike, innocent, lovers of horns of unicorns (οἱ κεράτων μονοκερώτων ἐρασταί)'.

O. STÄHLIN (in BKV 2. R. 7, München 1934, p. 218) sees in this expression a symbol of Christ. So does H.-I. MARROU in *Clément d'Alexandrie, Le Pédagogue I* (SC 70), p. 140. S. P. WOOD in *Clement of Alexandria, Christ, the Educator* (the Fathers of the Church 23), p. 18 says in a footnote: 'This difficult figure suggests those who rely upon the strength of God and of Christ' We wonder, however, whether the interpretation of the κέρατα μονοκερώτων in Justin and τὸ κέρας τὸ ποθοῦμενον from the Sibylline Oracles (cf. οἱ κεράτων

4. *Tertullian*

adv. Marc. III, 18, 3-4 (p. 532): Tertullian too is familiar with this theme. In *adv. Marc. III*, 18, 3-4, speaking of Joseph as a figure of Christ, he quotes the text of Deut. 33, 17¹: 'When Joseph, who was also destined to be a figure of Christ . . . , was blessed by his father² in the following words: "His beauty is that of a bull, his horns are those of a unicorn (*cornua unicornis cornua eius*); with them he shall push all the nations to the ends of the earth"', this certainly did not mean a one-horned rhinoceros or a two-horned minotaur, but rather Christ was seen in him, a bullock on account of His double nature: for some stern as a Judge, for others mild as a Saviour, whose horns would be the extremities of the Cross. For the extremities of the transverse beam too (*antenna*), which is a part of the cross, are called 'horns' (*cornua*), and the upright beam in the middle 'unicorn' (*unicornis*). And so now, with this power of the Cross and horned in this manner, He takes through faith all peoples upon His horns and raises them up from earth to heaven, but then through His judgment He will take them upon His horns, casting them down from heaven unto earth'.³

In his application of Deut. 33, 17 to Christ and the Cross, Tertullian links the image of the bull⁴ with that of the horns of the unicorn. The horns refer to the transverse beam of the cross, the unicorn to the upright beam. It is clear from Tertullian's own interpretation that the meaning of '*cornua*' = 'extremities' influenced this interpretation.

Tertullian understood the metaphor of the *καρπιζειν* differently

μονοκερώτων ἑρασταί) and, in addition, Clement's own liking for an ambiguous and veiled use of words, certainly as far as the Cross is concerned, do not justify us in viewing this expression as a latent reference to the Cross

¹ *Joseph, et ipse Christum figuraturus . . . , cum benediceretur a patre in haec verba 'tauri decor eius, cornua unicornis cornua eius, in eis ventilabit nationes pariter ad summum usque terrae', non utique rhinoceros destinabatur unicornis nec minotaurus bicornis, sed Christus in illo significabatur, taurus ob utramque dispositionem, alius ferus ut iudex, alius mansuetus ut salvator, cuius cornua essent crucis extrema. Nam et in antenna, quae crucis pars est, extremitates cornua vocantur, unicornis autem mediae stipitis palus. Hac denique virtute crucis et hoc more cornutus universas gentes et nunc ventilat per fidem, auferens a terra in caelum, et tunc per iudicium ventilabit, deiciens de caelo in terram'*

² The words. '*cum benediceretur a patre*' give the impression that Tertullian is referring to Jacob's blessing of Joseph, whereas he is in fact quoting Moses' blessing of the tribe of Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh). If this impression is correct, this is another indication of dependence on Justin, or of the use of *testimonia* loose from their context

³ Cf. *adv. Iud.* 10, 6-8 (p. 1376)

⁴ For Christ as 'bullock' and the Cross, see: Augustine, *Serm. de Vet. Test.* 19, 3 (CC 41, p. 254): '*Taurus est attende cornua crucis*'.

from Justin. Tertullian sees this as a taking upon the horns, as a casting 'up' and 'down' (*ventilare*), whereas Justin saw it as a being struck painfully, as a salutary wounding (Dial. 91, 3: *κερατισθέντες, τοῦτ' ἔστι κατανυγέντες*).

adv. Marc. III, 19, 5-6 (p. 534): In this passage Tertullian, like Justin, quotes Ps. 21, 22 as a prediction of the crucifixion¹: 'And furthermore, when calling upon the help of His Father, He (*i.e.* Christ) says: "Save me from the mouth of the lion", that is to say from death, "and my afflicted soul from the horns of the unicorn (*de cornibus unicornis*)", that is, the extremities of the cross, as we have already shown'² This explanation too reminds us of Justin (Dial. 105, 2), although once again Tertullian here stresses the meaning 'extremities' and not the shape of the cross, like Justin.

adv. Iud. 13, 21 (p. 1389): In *adv. Iud. 13, 20f.* mention is made³ of the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. 22). With reference to the ram which was caught in the thicket by his horns (*aries in vepre cornibus haerens*) Tertullian speaks again of the *cornua crucis*⁴: '... Isaac was saved from the wood by the sacrifice of the ram which was caught by his horns in a thicket, Christ ... bore the wood on His shoulders, fastened to the horns of the Cross (*inhaerens cornibus crucis*) ...' The comparison fails because the ram was caught by his (own) horns, whereas Christ was fastened to the horns of the Cross. We cannot avoid the impression that in this sacrificial scene the word 'horns' (*cornua*) immediately aroused in Tertullian's mind the association 'Cross'.⁵

¹ *Et rursus, cum auxilium Patris implorat: 'salvum', inquit, 'fac me ex ore leonis', utique mortis, 'et de cornibus unicornis humilitatem meam', de apicibus scilicet crucis, ut supra ostendimus*

² Cf. *adv. Iud. 10, 13* (p. 1379)

³ Cf. the discussion of the Isaac typology in Tertullian on p. 84 f

⁴ '... Isaac ligno solutus est, ariete oblato in vepre cornibus haerente, Christus ... lignum humeris suis portavit, inhaerens cornibus crucis'

⁵ In this connection must be mentioned fragm. XII of Melito (E. J. Goodspeed, *op. cit.* p. 313), which, like fragments IX-XI, deals with the sacrifice of Isaac. Speaking of the ram in the thicket Melito remarks that instead of the Greek reading *κατεχόμενος τῶν κεράτων* (caught by the horns), the Syriac and the Hebrew read *κρεμάμενος* (hanging by the horns), thus suggesting more clearly the figure of the Cross. This clarification is comprised in the word 'hanging'. This, however, does not mean that Melito considered the 'horns' to refer to the Cross, as thought by G. Archambault, *op. cit.* II, p. 89 'Méliton ... rapporte les cornes de la Croix à Gen. 22, 13'. From fragm. XI (*op. cit.* p. 312): 'The Lord was the lamb, that is, the ram which Abraham saw in the thicket (ἐν φυτῷ Σαβέκ); now the thicket referred to the Cross (τὸ φυτὸν Σαβέκ ἀπέφρανε τὸν σταυρόν)', it is evident that Melito viewed not the horns but the thicket as *typus crucis*. This

In Justin we find neither Isaac with the sacrificial wood nor the ram with his horns caught in the thicket mentioned as figures of Christ. Tertullian, therefore, cannot be indebted to him in this respect. So far as the two other passages from the Old Testament are concerned, we gain the impression that Tertullian borrowed these two *testimonia* (Deut. 33, 17 and Ps. 21, 22) from Justin together with the horn theme. That this was no random borrowing, however, is proved by:

1. the combination of *taurus* and *unicornis* in the development of Deut. 33, 17.
2. the individual development of the 'ventilare'.
3. the addition of the *cornua* from the sacrifice of Isaac.
4. the reference to the profane use of *cornua* for the extremities. The meaning 'yard', 'sail-yard' was probably also of influence here.¹

5. Concluding remarks

The harvest yielded by this research is not great. We found κέρατα/*cornua* as a term for Christ's cross in Justin and Tertullian, both referring to Deut. 33, 17 and Ps. 21, 22, in which they saw a typological reference to the Cross. Tertullian saw also a reference to the Cross in the horns (*cornua*) of the ram from Gen. 22, 13.

It is clear from the quotations from Justin and Tertullian that the expression κέρατα μονοκέρωτος/*cornua unicornis* as referring to the Cross did need some explication. To our mind Justin had no idea of any particular horned animal but let himself be guided by the 'Wortlaut' of the text in Deut. 33, 17 and Ps. 21, 22. It should follow from this that visual symbolism cannot have been the entire explanation of this typology.

The name κέρας for the Cross in the Sibylline Oracles is, from the context, difficult to link up with any particular passage from the Old Testament, although it, like the names ξύλον and ῥάβδος, arouses Old Testament associations.

In view of the rare occurrence of this term, however, we are justified

also appears from fragm. XII (*ibid*): 'Just as the thicket called up the idea of the Holy Cross (ὥσπερ δὲ φυτὸν Σαβὲκ ἐκάλεσε τὸν ἅγιον σταυρόν), ...' According to Melito this prefigurative character is more strongly accentuated by 'hanging' (κρεμάμενος) than by 'caught up in' (κατεχόμενος). Melito's interpretation differs, therefore, from that of Tertullian in *adv. Iud.* 13, 21. Ambrose too, *de Abraham I*, 8 (78) (CSEL 32, 1, p. 552) gives the same interpretation as Melito: '*Virgultum illud patibulum crucis est*'.

¹ In *adv. Iud.* 10, 7 (p. 1377) we read in the interpretation of Deut. 33, 17 in connection with the *cornua crucis*: '*Nam et in antenna navis, quae crucis pars est, extremitates cornua vocantur*'.

in concluding that *κέρας* or *κέρατα/cornu* or *cornua* was never a common name for the cross of Christ during the first two centuries.

That on the other hand this term did not disappear either with Tertullian may appear from the following texts by writers of the third century which show that we may indeed speak of a 'traditional' theme.

Hippolytus: With reference to the text of Deut. 33, 17 Hippolytus of Rome in his *Benedictiones Moysis* ¹ gives the following commentary on the text: 'His horns are the horns of a unicorn': 'You see how he (Moses) has here clearly referred to the sign of the Cross, because there were horns to right and left (the two extremities of the transverse beam of the Cross) . . . The unicorn is the upright part of the Cross which is fixed into the ground and which on the one hand throws into confusion and destroys the unbelieving generation and on the other will gather in His kingdom those who have accepted the faith'. Here too the 'horns' are applied to the Cross. Here too, just as in Justin and Tertullian, the effect of those horns on believers and unbelievers is outlined. So Hippolytus does not deviate at all from the tradition.

Cyprian: In his *Test.* II, 7 ² Cyprian quotes under the title: '*Quod Christus Deus venturus esset inluminator et salvator generis humani*', the text of Lk. 1, 69 (canticle of Zechariah): '*Benedictus Deus Israel, qui fecit redemptionem populo suo et suscitavit nobis cornu salutis* (*κέρας σωτηρίας*) *in domo David pueri sui*'. Cyprian undoubtedly saw in the words '*cornu salutis*' a reference to the Redeemer.

As regards Scriptural quotations in connection with the Cross, in which the word *κέρας/cornu* was considered to refer to the Cross, we find in Cyprian a text which we have not come across before, namely: Hab. 3, 4. In *Test.* II, 21 ³ under the heading: '*Quod in passione crucis et signo virtus omnis sit et potestas*', Cyprian quotes as the first of a series of *testimonia*: '*Apud Abacuc: "Cornua in manibus eius erunt. Et illic stabilita est virtus gloriae eius"*'. This text of Habakkuk was not quoted in connection with the Cross by any of the writers already mentioned.⁴

¹ Hippolyte de Rome, *Sur les Bénédictiones d'Isaac, de Jacob et de Moïse*, in PO 27, p. 173 f. (translation from the Armenian and Georgian).

² CSEL 3, 1 p. 71 f.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 89.

⁴ Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 18, 32 (CC 48, p. 624) will give the same interpretation as Cyprian: "'*Cornua in manibus eius sunt*", *quid est nisi tropaeum crucis*?' Modern exegetes, however, explain the 'horns' from Hab. 3, 4 as the rays which shine from hands or side. So, for example, W. H. WARD, in '*Habakkuk*' (ICC;

Firmicus Maternus The survival of this last *testimonium* and of the horn motif in general in connection with the Cross is well illustrated by a passage from Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, 21.¹ The pagan cry αἰαῖ, δίκερως, δίμορφε (woe, with your two horns and two faces) is for Firmicus Maternus an occasion for elaborating on the *cornua Christi*. The horns mean nothing other than the venerable sign of the Cross (*signum crucis*). By the one long and upright horn (*cornu*) the sky is propped, the earth held in its place, through the linking of the two (horns) pointing sideways, the East is touched and the West supported. The words of a prophet have revealed to us this venerable mystery. For we find that it is written in Habakkuk "... Horns are in His hands, there is His strength firmly established". These are the venerable horns of the Cross (*cornua crucis*), that is, the immortal top of holy power ... You, Lord, bear the sign of eternal Life (*banulas signum vitae aeternae*) ... In order to conquer Amalek Moses rendered these horns with his outstretched arms ... Hasten to these horns with hurrying speed ... so that you, pointing to this holy mark (*insignia*), rejoicing in the majesty of your consecrated forehead (*frontis consecratae*, a reference to the cruciform *signatio*), will be a sharer not only in the burial but also in the life of Christ (Baptismal symbolism, cf. Rom. 6, 3-6).²

B ROD (STAFF/SCEPTRE)

1 *Introductory remarks*

The meanings of the Greek ῥάβδος in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament show no striking deviations from those in profane literature.³ Like ξύλον, ῥάβδος can have the meaning of dead or living wood, although it occurs more frequently in the first meaning. Dimensions and shape, however, have limited the meaning of ῥάβδος more than that of ξύλον.

1. As 'dead wood' we find it used as rod or staff for

- a the shepherd's staff (cf. Ps. 2, 9, 22, 4, Mic. 7, 14). There is probably a connection between the shepherd's staff and those of the

1911) p. 20 'Rays He hath at His side' J. TRINQUET, in 'Habaquq' (Bible de Jérusalem) 1959², p. 36 'Il s'agit des rayons qui partent des mains de Yahweh'.

¹ CSEL 2, p. 110 f.

² Cf. K. ZIEGLER, *Julius Firmicus Maternus, Senator, Vom Irrtum der heidnischen Religionen, übertragen und erläutert*, München 1953, p. 37 f.

³ Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES, *op. cit.* p. 1562 s.v. ῥάβδος.

patriarchs and heads of the tribes of Israel (cf. Gen. 32, 11; 38, 25; Numbers 17). This staff became a symbol of power. This is especially so with the rod of Moses, 'the rod of God' (Ex. 4, 20) with which God himself had associated the power to work miracles (Ex. 4, 17).¹

- b. the sceptre. As a symbol of power the staff is even transformed into a royal attribute, the sceptre (Ps. 44, 7; Esther 4, 11; 5, 2).
 - c. the rod of chastisement. In addition, we see a more ordinary use of ῥάβδος as a rod of chastisement, used to punish humans or animals (Ex. 21, 20; Numbers 22, 23, 27; Prov. 23, 13 f.). The terms ῥάβδος and παιδεία were closely linked in the train of thought of the writer of Proverbs (cf. Prov. 22, 15).
 - d. the rods. The Septuagint also employs ῥάβδοι for the rods which Jacob cast into the watering troughs of his flocks (Gen. 30, 37 ff.).
2. As 'living wood', that is, as the young twigs of some trees. In the story of Jacob and Laban we already have actually the transition between these two basic meanings, for here the word ῥάβδος is used for the young rods of 'poplar, almond and plane' which Jacob cut, peeled and then laid in the drinking troughs.

The well known text in the Septuagint in which ῥάβδος is used for a young twig, for a shoot of living wood, is Isaiah 11, 1: 'There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse'. This meaning is not frequent in profane literature either, although it does occur there. We refer only to Ion² and Theophrastus.³

The word ῥάβδος also occurs in the New Testament. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who repeatedly refers back to the Old Testament, quotes three ῥάβδος-texts. In ch. 1, 8, speaking of the kingship of the Son of God, he quotes Ps. 44, 7: 'Your royal sceptre is a sceptre of equity'. Subsequently, in ch. 9, 4, in a description of the Holy of Holies and the Ark of the Covenant, he mentions the rod of Aaron which had once blossomed (Num. 17). Finally, in ch. 11, 21, speaking of the faith of Jacob, who on his deathbed blessed the two sons of

¹ It may be that popular belief attributed a magical influence (cf. Ex. 7) to Moses' rod (as magic wand), a shade of meaning already contained in the Greek ῥάβδος from the time of Homer's *Il.* XXIV, 343; cf. *Od.* 5, 47 etc

Cf. W. BREDE KRISTENSEN, *Symbol en werkelijkheid*, Zeist 1962, p. 258 ff.

Cf. also Hermas, *Vis.* III, 2, 4 (p. 9); *Sim.* IX, 6, 3 (p. 81).

² Ion, fragm. 40 in *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, Leipzig 1865, p. 574 (ed. NAUCK)

³ Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* II, 1, 2, Leipzig 1854, p. 33 (ed. WIMMER).

Joseph, he mentions his staff ¹: 'By faith Jacob, when dying, blessed each of the sons of Joseph, bowing in worship over the head of his staff' (cf. Gen. 47, 31 LXX).

In three of the four places too in which ῥάβδος occurs in Revelation, namely in 2, 27; 12, 5; 19, 15, there is a clear allusion to a text from the Old Testament, viz. to Ps. 2, 9 ²: 'You shall rule them with a rod of iron'.

The other ῥάβδος-texts from the New Testament ³ are neither quotations from nor allusions to texts from the Old Testament.

Nowhere in the Septuagint nor in the New Testament is any connection made between ῥάβδος and the Cross.⁴

2. *Justin Martyr*

Although the use of ῥάβδος in the Apostolic Fathers ⁵ and notably in Hermas ⁶ must be mentioned, it has there no connection in meaning with the Cross.

With the exception of Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 20, 3 (p. 335),⁷ Justin is the only one of the Apologists to employ the term ῥάβδος.

¹ Πίστει Ἰακώβ ἀποθνῆσκων ἑκάστον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰωσήφ εὐλόγησεν, καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ.

² ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.

³ Mt. 10, 10; Mk 6, 8, Lk 9, 3: ῥάβδος = traveller's staff (= βακτηρία).

⁴ 1 Cor. 4, 21. ῥάβδος = rod of chastisement.

Rev. 11, 1. ῥάβδος = measuring staff

⁴ Cf ThW VI, p 966-971 s v. ῥάβδος (C SCHNEIDER)

W. BAUER, *op cit* c 1453 f s v. ῥάβδος.

⁵ Apart from Hermas, ῥάβδος only occurs in 1 Clem 43, 2-5 (p 58). Here Clement tells how God himself put an end to the dissension among the twelve tribes of Israel about the election to the priesthood by causing Aaron's rod to blossom.

⁶ The word ῥάβδος occurs frequently in the 'Shepherd' of Hermas, esp. in the eighth Similitude. Hermas employs the word as:

shepherd's staff. *Vis* V, 1 (p. 22); *Sim.* VI, 2, 5 (p 60).

magic wand. *Vis.* III, 2, 4 (p. 9); *Sim* IX, 6, 3 (p 81).

branch (twig): *Sim.* VIII *passim* (p 65 ff.).

The eighth Similitude deals with the branches of a willow tree which all those called receive from the Angel of the Lord and which they later return to him in various conditions (green, dry etc.) In *Sim.* VIII, 1, 2-3 (p. 65 f) Hermas speaks of μικρὰ ῥάβδισι. These appear to be small branches, about a cubit in length. From *Sim.* VIII, 1, 5 (p. 66) onwards, these same branches are called ῥάβδοι. In *Sim.* VIII, 2, 9 (p 68) ῥάβδοι, ῥάβδισι and κλάδοι are used indiscriminately. In *Sim* VIII, 3, 2-4 (p 68 f) the explanation of this symbolism is given. The willow tree is the Law of God, given to the whole world. And this Law is the Son of God. The branches symbolize the Law of God, which everyone receives, but which all do not keep in the same manner. Nowhere, however, is there mention of any connection between ῥάβδος and the cross of Christ.

⁷ Hermes' staff is mentioned here.

Apart from the ῥάβδος series in *Dial.* 86, most of the other texts are quotations from verses of the Psalms 2, 9; 44, 7; 109, 2 and twice an explanation of Ps. 109, 2.

Ps. 2, 9: 'You shall rule them with a rod of iron',¹ in *I Apol.* 40, 15 (p. 54).

Ps. 44, 7: 'Your royal sceptre is a sceptre of equity',² in *Dial.* 38, 4 (p. 135); 56, 14 (p. 158); 63, 4 (p. 169).

Ps. 109, 2: 'The Lord sends forth from Zion your mighty sceptre',³ in *I Apol.* 45, 3 (p. 58); *Dial.* 32, 6 (p. 127); 83, 2 (p. 195).

Justin twice gives an interpretation of this last Psalm text: thus in *I Apol.* 45, 5 (p. 58): 'This Psalm text is a prediction of the powerful message (λόγος), which His apostles have everywhere proclaimed from out Jerusalem', and in:

Dial. 83, 4 (p. 195): 'Our Jesus has sent a mighty sceptre from out Jerusalem, the message (λόγος) which contains an invitation to all pagans to be converted'.

In both places Justin interprets ῥάβδος as the message of Salvation, as the Gospel.

In connection with our research *Dial.* 86 (p. 199f.) is especially important.⁴ It is striking that here Justin has quoted so many texts in which the ῥάβδος has played a role in the history of the patriarchs and tribal heads of the Jewish people. Thus he mentions:

Jacob: Gen. 30, 37ff.: the rods in the drinking troughs of the flocks. Gen. 32, 10: Jacob's staff, his only possession when he crossed the Jordan.

Judah: Gen. 38, 25: the staff which showed that Judah was the father of Tamar's child (cf. Gen. 38, 18).

Moses: Justin emphasizes the importance of Moses' rod: 'With his rod Moses was sent unto the redemption of the children of Israel'.

He then mentions expressly:

Ex. 14, 16: Moses' rod at the crossing of the Red Sea.

Ex. 17, 5f.: Moses' rod at the water from the rock (cf. Numbers 20, 8-11).⁵

Aaron: Numbers 17: Aaron's rod, which showed he was to be high priest.

¹ ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ.

² ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου.

³ ῥάβδον δυνάμεώς σου ἐξαποστελεῖ Κύριος ἐκ Σιών.

⁴ Cf. p. 42 ff.

⁵ Justin does not mention Moses' rod in the struggle of Israel against Amalek (cf. Ex. 17, 9).

Justin has mentioned here all the ῥάβδοι contained in the Pentateuch.

He mentions in addition (*ibid.*):

Ps. 22, 4: the rod of God, image of the support and comfort which God has granted to David.

Is. 11, 1: the shoot which will spring forth from the stump of Jesse.

We cannot escape the impression that Justin here draws upon a collection of Old Testament quotations, assembled under the key-word ῥάβδος.¹ It does appear, however, from the context in *Dial.* 86 that the word ῥάβδος was not his point of departure, but that he assembled there numerous *testimonia* under the heading (key-word) 'wood'.

Justin later returns to two of the *testimonia* from *Dial.* 86, namely: to Is. 11, 1 in ch. 87, 2 (p. 200) where Trypho admits that 'a shoot from the stump of Jesse' was said of Christ, and:

to the staff of Moses in ch. 138, 2 (p. 260). There, with reference to the saving of Noah and his family in the Ark, Justin says: 'Christ is the beginning of a new generation, reborn through water, faith and 'wood',² which contains in itself the mystery of the Cross, just as Noah was saved through the wood (of the Ark) floating on the waters.³ With this figure Justin links (καὶ γάρ) that of Moses, who, with his rod in his hand (Ex. 14, 16) led Israel through the Red Sea to freedom. From the association of these two figures, in which Justin saw the same symbols (σύμβολα), that is, water and 'wood', we may deduce that he also saw in the rod of Moses, as being 'wood which contains in itself the mystery of the Cross', a figure of the Cross.⁴

It is also worthy of mention that Justin twice quotes the term 'Ράβδος as one of the many names for the Messiah, the Son of God. So *Dial.* 100, 4 (p. 215); here Justin gives the following names, derived

¹ Cf. PER BESKOW, *op. cit.* p. 82.

² Cf. Ps. Barnabas 11, 8 (p. 24). 'Blessed are those who in faithful trust in the Cross have descended into the water'.

³ Cf. p. 45 f.

⁴ Augustine too, *De catechizandis rudibus* 34 (PL 40, c. 335), combines like Justin the saving of Noah in the Ark and the setting free of Israel out of Egypt as a figure of Cross and Baptism 'Ita quemadmodum per diluvium aquis terra purgata est a nequitia peccatorum, qui tunc in illa inundatione deleti sunt, et iusti evaserunt per lignum, sic ex Aegypto exiens populus Dei per aquas iter invenit, quibus ipsorum hostes consumpti sunt. Nec ibi defuit ligni sacramentum. Nam virga percussit Moyses, ut illud miraculum fieret. Utrumque signum est sancti baptismi, per quod fideles in novam vitam transeunt, peccata vero eorum tamquam inimici delentur atque moriuntur'.

Cf. PER LUNDBERG, *op. cit.* p. 186, who likewise points to the association: Noah's Ark and Moses' rod as *typi crucis*.

from 'the words of the prophets': Wisdom - Day - East - Sword - Stone - 'Ράβδος - Jacob - Israel.

Dial. 126, 1 (p. 246): Here too Justin gives a long list of names, all derived from the Old Testament and intended as names for the Christ: Wonderful Counsellor - Man - Son of Man - Child - Anointed - God - Stone - Wisdom - Joseph - Judah - Star - East - Subject to suffering (Παθητός) - Jacob - Israel - 'Ράβδος - Flower - Cornerstone - Son of God.

Since Justin expressly states that he has taken these names from the Holy Scriptures, the name 'Ράβδος can probably be traced back to Is. 11, 1, which implies the translation 'shoot'.

Summing-up: In *Dial.* 86 a great number of ῥάβδος *testimonia* are included in the series of *testimonia* under the heading 'wood'. Justin gives no explanation of this in ch. 86. The only possible explanation seems the following: to Justin's mind the 'wood' and so also the ῥάβδος (as 'wood') already contains the mystery of the Cross as he expressly states in *Dial.* 138, 2.¹ The term ῥάβδος is then not included in ch. 86 on its own account, but as a manifestation of ξύλον, that is, of the Cross.

For Moses' rod, we are able to distinguish, in the light of *Dial.* 138, 2 (cf. *Dial.* 86, 1), a clearer link with the Cross, even though the parallel with the salvation of Noah is based upon 'wood' (ξύλον) and water.

The fluctuating character of the ῥάβδος symbolism is evident in our opinion from the fact that in *Dial.* 100, 4 and 126, 1 'Ράβδος is one of the many names for the Messiah, probably derived from Is. 11, 1.

In *I Apol.* 45, 5 and *Dial.* 83, 4 Justin interprets the ῥάβδος δυνάμειως from Ps. 109, 2 as the Gospel, preached everywhere by the apostles as an invitation to all to be converted.

As appears from the texts, Justin uses ῥάβδος exclusively in Old Testament connection.

3. Irenaeus of Lyons

adv. Haereses: The places in *adv. Haer.* where Irenaeus' Latin translator uses *virga*, are quotations from the Holy Scriptures and on one occasion an interpretation:

III, 6, 1 (II, p. 21): '*Virga directionis, virga regni tui*' (Ps. 44, 7).

III, 10 (II, p. 32): '*Exiit virga de radice Jesse*' (Is. 11, 1).

IV, 24, 11 (II, p. 223): '*Pascet eos in virga ferrea*' (Ps. 2, 9; cf. Rev. 2, 27; 12, 5; 19, 15).

¹ Cf. also p. 45.

adv. Haer. III, 28 (II, p. 118): After having dwelt in detail on the meaning of the prophecy of Is. 7, 14, in particular on Mary as 'Virgo' ¹ and on the virgin birth of Christ, Irenaeus quotes in amplification (*propter hoc*) two texts from the Old Testament:

Dan. 2, 34: the 'stone' cut out by no human hand, the rod (ῥάβδος) of Moses as described in Ex. 7, 8-13: 'And therefore also, in order to show the figure (*ostendens typum*), Moses cast his rod (*virga*) upon the ground, so that, having become flesh (*incarnata*), it should expose all the evil of the Egyptians and devour it'. The *virga incarnata* is here a figure of Christ, who, having become Flesh (*incarnatus*), took away evil, that is, sin.²

Demonstratio: Apart from a quotation from Ps. 109, 2 in ch. 48 (p. 79), the only important text is to be found in:

ch. 59 (p. 86 f.): Having quoted Is. 11, 1-10, Irenaeus gives the following commentary on verse 11, 1: 'And there shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots'. 'Thereby, he says, that it is of her, who is descended from David and from Abraham, that He is born. For Jesse was a descendant of Abraham, and father of David. The descendant who conceived Christ, the Virgin, is thus become the 'shoot' (ῥάβδος); and therefore Moses too worked his miracles before Pharaoh with a rod (ῥάβδος). And among others too of mankind, the rod is a sign of empire'.

Here it is not Christ, as in Justin, but Mary (for the first time) who is referred to as the ῥάβδος. In his elaboration of this typology Irenaeus establishes a connection between the rod of Moses and the Mary-ῥάβδος typology.³

¹ Justin already interpreted Is. 7, 14 in this sense, cf *Dial* 43, 7 f (p. 140 f); *Dial* 66 (p. 173 f)

² This interpretation of Moses' rod may appear to incline towards the profane. We find it, however, again and more clearly expressed in Augustine/Quodvultdeus, *Sermo ad Catechumenos de Cataclysmo* 5 (PL 40, c. 696): 'Scatent nunc haereses in hanc terram, tamquam serpentes magorum, quos devoravit et devorat ille Serpens exaltatus in ligno'

Opinions are divided concerning the authorship of this sermon. According to DES. FRANCES, *Die Werke des heiligen Quodvultdeus, Bischofs von Karthago, gestorben um 453*, Munchen 1920, this sermon is from Quodvultdeus.

In the opinion of DOLGER, *Der Durchzug durch das Rote Meer als Sinnbild der christlichen Taufe*, AC II (1930) p. 66, who agrees with FRANCES, the symbolism in this *sermo* is dependent on Augustine.

Cf R. BRAUN, *Quodvultdeus, Livre des promesses et des prédictions de Dieu I* (SC 101), Paris 1964, p. 88 ff.

See for further information *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, Steenbrugge 1961², nos., 400 ff.

³ Here we have a different explanation given for Moses' rod from that which we

No connection with the Cross is made either in the *adversus Haereses* or in the *Demonstratio*.

4. Clement of Alexandria

Paed. I, ch. 7, 60, 2-61, 3 (I, p. 125): In this passage Clement, with reference to Joshua as a figure of the Pedagogue Jesus, has inserted a digression on the ῥάβδος of the pedagogue. The ῥάβδος, says Clement, is the attribute of the pedagogue, and consequently also of the Pedagogue Jesus. As Scriptural proof of this he quotes Is. 11, 1: 'There shall come forth a ῥάβδος from the stump of Jesse'. Then follows a description of the pedagogic qualities and activity of the Redeemer from the Scriptural quotations: Is. 11, 3 f. and Ps. 117, 18 and also from the following, in which the word ῥάβδος occurs:

Ps. 2, 9: 'You shall rule them with a rod of iron',

1 Cor. 4, 21: 'What do you wish? Shall I come to you with a rod or with love in a spirit of gentleness?',

Ps. 109, 2: 'The Lord sends forth from Zion a mighty sceptre',

Ps. 22, 4: 'Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me'.

We are left with the impression that here too, in connection with the disciplinary rod of the pedagogue, a number of *testimonia* are given in which the use of the word ῥάβδος was decisive and not so much the meaning 'rod of chastisement' of the pedagogue.¹ Should not this too indicate the use of a collection of ῥάβδος quotations such as we suspect in Justin's *Dial.* 86?

Paed. III, ch. 10, 50, 3 (I, p. 265): Here too the word ῥάβδος is mentioned. Clement tells us how Jacob, who pastured part of Laban's flock, had as a royal symbol (σημεῖον βασιλικόν) a staff of the wood of the gumtree (ῥάβδος συρακίνη), because he wished to improve the strain (of the stock) by means of the wood (ξύλον).² Although Clement gives a curious interpretation of the word ῥάβδος from Gen. 30, 37,³ the resemblance which he sees between ῥάβδος and ξύλον is worthy of mention for its connection with our research.

Nowhere, however, does Clement make any connection between ῥάβδος and the Cross.

thought to perceive in *adv. Haer.* III, 28. This is yet another indication of the fluctuating character of the ῥάβδος typology, probably connected with the interpretation of Is. 11, 1 as referring to Christ or Mary.

¹ H.-I. MARROU, in *Le Pédagogue I, ed. cit.* p. 218 f. gives the following commentary on this 'Clément, cherchant une fois de plus à grossir son dossier pédagogique, ne retient que le mot ῥάβδος sans se soucier du contexte'

² Cf. O. STAHLIN in *BKV* 2. R. 8, p. 181.

³ Here Clement confuses ῥάβδος in the meaning of 'rod' and 'young branch'.

5. *The Sibylline Oracles*

The only text from the early Christian Apocryphal literature in which ῥάβδος occurs in connection with the Cross, is *Or. Sib.* VIII, 248 (p. 157). This line is included in the acrostic σταυρός already mentioned.¹

For an accurate judgment the acrostic here follows in its entirety (244–250):

Σῆμα δέ τοι τότε πᾶσι βροτοῖς, σφρηγὶς ἐπίσημος
τὸ ξύλον ἐν πιστοῖς, τὸ κέρας τὸ ποθοῦμενον, ἔσται,
ἀνδρῶν εὐσεβέων ζωή, πρόσκομμα δὲ κόσμου,
ὑδασι φωτίζον κλητοὺς ἐν δώδεκα πηγαῖς·

248 ῥάβδος ποιμαίνουσα σιδηρεῖ γέ κρατήσῃ.

Οὗτος ὁ νῦν προγραφεὶς ἐν ἀκροστιχίῳ Θεὸς ἡμῶν
Σωτὴρ, ἀθάνατος Βασιλεὺς, ὁ παθὼν ἔνεχ' ἡμῶν.

The translation reads as follows:²

Then shall the wood (of the Cross), the beloved horn,
be a sign for all mortals, a clear seal upon the faithful,
life for the devout, a scandal for the world,
baptizing the chosen with water from twelve springs;
like a tending shepherd's staff of iron, it shall rule.
He who now is written down as acrostic, is our God,
our Redeemer, immortal King, who suffered for our sake.

The word ῥάβδος in line 248 can scarcely be taken as anything other than a term for the Cross: 'Like a tending shepherd's staff of iron, it (the Cross) shall rule'. Just as φωτίζον³ in line 247, line 248 indicates the effect of the Cross. The expression ῥάβδος ποιμαίνουσα σιδηρεῖ goes back to Ps. 2, 9 and the allusions thereto in Rev. 2, 27; 12, 5; 19, 15.

In the Messianic second Psalm allusion is made in verse 9 to the power to punish granted by Yahweh to the Messiah.

In Rev. 2, 27: 'He who conquers and keeps my works until the end' shares in this same power.

In Rev. 12, 5 and 19, 15 this authority is limited to the Son of God. So the ῥάβδος ποιμαίνουσα σιδηρεῖ is in Biblical usage a symbol of

¹ See p. 75 and p. 102.

² In our translation the lines 244–245 are inverted.

Cf. J. GEFFCKEN in E. HENNECKE, *op. cit.* p. 407.

³ We have already pointed out the link between Cross and Baptism with reference to Ps. Barnabas 11, 6–8; Justin's *Dial.* 86, 6; 138, 2; Tertullian's *adv. Iud.* 13, 12. 17–19.

Cf. also PER LUNDBERG, *op. cit.* p. 167 ff.: *La Croix dans le fleuve*, in which he stresses the central place of the Cross in Christian baptism.

Christ's right to punish. This leads us to interpret line 248 in an eschatological sense: the 'tending shepherd's staff of iron' is the *crux gloriosa* at the Parousia as a symbol of the punishing judgment which at that time will be pronounced on the unbelievers.

Yet even here, we are inclined to wonder whether the writer has made a clear distinction between ῥάβδος as a term for the Cross and 'Ράβδος as a reference to Christ. The fluctuating character of the ῥάβδος typology was already apparent in Justin. We find, moreover, in the Apocryphal literature several indications of an identification of the Cross with Christ. That the possibility of such an identification should not be excluded here is indicated especially by *Or. Sib.* VIII, 254,¹ where ῥάβδος like λίθος evidently refers to Christ, prefigured by Moses with his outstretched arms (figure of Christ *and* Cross).²

6. Concluding remarks

The results of this research are slight. In *Dial.* 86 Justin mentions seven times a ῥάβδος text from the Old Testament as a *testimonium ligni*. Each *lignum*, according to Justin (*Dial.* 138, 2), contains the mystery of the Cross. Most of these *testimonia*, however, were not considered as *figurae crucis* by the early Christian tradition. In *Dial.* 138, 2 Justin reverts to Moses' rod. In it, as in Noah's Ark, he sees a figure of the Cross.

In *Dial.* 100, 4 and 126, 1, however, Justin considers 'Ράβδος as one of the many, Old Testament inspired, names for the Christ. This reveals on the one hand the fluctuating character of the ῥάβδος typology and points on the other hand to an identification of Christ and Cross. The same holds good for the interpretation of ῥάβδος in *Or. Syb.* VIII, 248.

¹ *Or. Sib.* VIII, 251-255 (p. 157 f.):

“Ὁν Μωσῆς ἐτύπωσε προτείνας ὠλένας ἀγνάς
νικῶν τὸν Ἀμαλὴκ πίστει, ἵνα λαὸς ἐπιγνῶ
ἐκλεκτὸν παρὰ πατρὶ Θεῷ καὶ τίμιον εἶναι
τὴν Ῥάβδον Δαυὶδ καὶ τὸν Λίθον, ὅνπερ ὑπέστη,
εἰς δὲ ὁ πιστεύσας ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔξει.

² In this connection we should like to draw attention also to *the Odes of Solomon* 29, 8 (II, p. 363):

7 'And He showed me His sign
and led me by His light,
8 and He gave me the rod of His power'.

'The rod of His power' (cf. ῥάβδος δυνάμεως from Ps. 109, 2) may possibly be an allusion to the Cross.

Cf. PER LUNDBERG, *op. cit.* p. 132.

For this quotation from the *Odes of Solomon* see also p. 174.

That the ῥάβδος typology was, however, more deeply anchored in Christianity than these scanty data would lead one to suppose, is evident from the following quotations from later Patristic literature:

*Origen, Hom. in Ex. 4, 6*¹: 'Puto, quod virga (Moysis) . . . per quam Aegyptus subigitur et Pharao superatur, crux Christi sit . . .'

*Firmicus Maternus, De err. prof. rel. 21*²: speaking of the cornua crucis³ Firmicus Maternus also mentions the rod of Moses in the latter's attitude of prayer during the struggle of Israel against Amalek (cf. Ex. 17, 9): 'Ut Amalech vinceretur, extensis manibus Moyses haec imitatus est cornua; ut facilius impetraret quod magnopere postulabat, crucem sibi fecit ex virga'.

*Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. 13, 20*⁴: developing the theme: 'Life begins always through the wood' Cyril mentions, with Noah's Ark, the rod of Moses for which the sea drew back in respect, as a figure (ὁ τύπος τῆς ῥάβδου) of the wood of the Cross.

*Ambrose, De Sacr. V, 13*⁵ interprets Ps. 22, 4: 'Virga tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt' as symbols of the eternal kingship of Christ and of His corporal suffering: 'Virga imperium, baculus passio, hoc est, aeterna divinitas Christi, sed etiam passio corporalis; illa creavit, haec redemit'.

In *De Sacr. V, 3*⁶ however, Ambrose sees in Moses' rod with which he struck the rock (Ex. 17, 1ff.) a reference to the word of God⁷: 'Vide mysterium: Moyses, hoc est propheta, virga, hoc est verbum Dei; sacerdos verbo Dei tangit petram et fluit aqua et bibit populus Dei'.

*Augustine | Quodvultdeus, De cataclysmo 3*⁸: 'Moyses figuram habuit Domini Christi, quoniam dux fuit populi. In virga agnoscite crucem . . . Exclamate ad Moysen vestrum, Dominum Christum, et virga crucis percutiat mare baptismi . . .'

*Ibid. ch. 6*⁹: With reference to the shepherd's staff, the author gives a 'Meditative' on the typology of the virga: '... Ille pastor noster, dilectissimi, qui in virga ferrea pascit et regit, confringit et restituit; ipse pastor est, ipse rector, ipse fabricator, ipse architectus noster . . . Magnum te architectum video, virgam portantem, in virga pendentem, et de ista virga multa miracula facientem. Multum expavesco expositionem virgae huius,

¹ Origenes VI, p. 177. ² CSEL 2, p. 111.

³ See p. 107. ⁴ PG 33, c. 797.

⁵ B. BOTTE, ed. cit. p. 126.

⁶ Ibid. p. 122.

⁷ Cf. Justin's interpretation of ῥάβδος δυνάμεως in Ps. 109, 2.

⁸ PL 40, c. 695. See on p. 113, footnote 2.

⁹ Ibid. c. 698.

dilectissimi, dum loca divinarum Scripturarum considero. Virga Maria sancta, virga ipse Christus, virga crux'.

This last quotation especially illustrates the fluctuating character of the $\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$ typology, but is at the same time a proof that from early Christian times the $\rho\acute{\alpha}\beta\delta\omicron\varsigma$ motif remained a favourite theme in the Patristic texts.

C. SIGN AS A NAME FOR THE CROSS

I. *Introductory remarks*

a. $\Sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ in profane usage and in the Septuagint

In the earliest Greek poetry, in Homer, and also in Hesiod, only the word $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$ occurs, and not $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$. In prose writing, however, $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ which is a 'Weiterbildung' of $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$ has become the usual word from the time of Herodotus I, 171.

It is no easy task to select from the many shades of meaning contained in $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ one or more basic meanings.¹ We shall content ourselves here with the vague term 'sign', a sign that, depending on the context, can be more fully defined as:

- I a 'sign' by which someone or something may be *known*:
 - a. inherent in the person or thing itself: a characteristic, a distinguishing mark.
 - b. situated outside the person or thing but referring to it, a referring sign. Among these we may classify:
 - 1. the miracle as a sign: referring to the Divine.
 - 2. the portent: referring to a future event.
 - 3. the symbol: a sign which indicates something that cannot itself be verified by the senses; so, for example, a flag as a symbol of national unity, or a badge as a symbol of membership of a school or a society.²

II a 'sign' to *do* something: a signal or command.

The meanings of the Greek $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ lie chiefly in the plane of knowledge, especially of knowledge imparted by the senses.

This same trend is evident in the Septuagint. There the word $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ occurs roughly 125 times.³ Concerning the Greek $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ as a translation

¹ Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 1593 s.v. $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$, where references to Greek literature can be found.

² Here we have points of contact with $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ and $\sigma\phi\epsilon\rho\alpha\gamma\iota\varsigma$

³ ThW VII, p. 199-264 s.v. $\sigma\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ (K. H. RENGSTORF).

of the Hebrew 'ôt K. Rengstorff says ¹: 'like the Hebrew 'ôt the Greek σημεῖον indicates something which may itself be apprehended by the senses, but which by virtue of its function as a sign, by virtue of its 'being a sign', refers to something abstract, something spiritual, something which cannot be apprehended by the senses. Moreover, the Greek σημεῖον has a general and not a specifically religious meaning'.

Despite the frequency with which σημεῖον occurs in the Septuagint, only a few instances are of any importance in connection with our own research. These we shall discuss whenever a σημεῖον text in early Christian literature, linked with the Cross, gives us occasion to do so.

b. Σημεῖον and the Cross in the New Testament

Also in the New Testament the meaning of σημεῖον lies on the plane of knowledge, and that of knowledge transmitted via the senses.² Here too it has the general meaning of 'sign', which can be defined more closely as:

- a. a sign inherent in the person or thing itself; thus Lk. 2, 34.
- b. a sign situated outside the person or thing in question but referring to it:
 1. the miracle as a sign of the Divine: from Mt. 12, 38 onwards, especially in John and in the Acts.
 2. the portent, indicating a coming event; thus Mt. 24, 3; Mk. 13, 4; Lk. 21, 7.
 3. the symbol: a sign, perceptible to the senses, referring to something spiritual; thus in Rom. 4, 11 the circumcision (σημεῖον περιτομῆς) as a sign of the Covenant (cf. Gen. 17, 11: 'it shall be a sign of the Covenant': ἐν σημείῳ διαθήκης).
 4. the prefigurative sign; thus Jonah in Mt. 12, 38ff.

There is only one σημεῖον text in the New Testament, which we cannot pass over here, namely:

Mt. 24, 30: The twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew deals with the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world. In verses 30–31 mention is made of the coming of the Son of Man at the end of time. The text reads as follows ³: 'Then will appear the sign of the Son of Man in

¹ Cf. *art. cit.* p. 217 f.

² Cf. W. BAUER, *op. cit.* c. 1482 f. s.v. σημεῖον.

³ Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς· καὶ ἀποστελεῖ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ μετὰ σάλπιγγος μεγάλης, καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως ἄκρων αὐτῶν.

heaven, and then all the tribes of the earth will mourn, and they will see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory; and He will send out His angels with a loud trumpet call, and they will gather His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other'.

We are, indeed, justified in wondering whether 'the sign of the Son of Man in heaven' (τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ) refers to the Cross, and it is therefore useful to examine this text more closely.

In the verses quoted three aspects of the Second Coming of Christ are distinguished:

1. the appearance of the sign of the Son of Man
2. His coming with great power and majesty
3. the gathering of the elect.

What does Matthew mean here by 'the sign of the Son of Man'? Josef Schmid¹ admits of two possibilities: the sign of the Son of Man is either the Son of Man himself or 'irgend eine Erscheinung, die das unmittelbar bevorstehende Kommen des Menschensohnes andeutet. Die Sache selbst bleibt dann geheimnisvoll'.

P. Benoit too² is very cautious in expressing himself: 'Il pourrait s'agir du Christ lui-même, manifestant par son triomphe dans l'Église, qu'il est vraiment ressuscité et glorieux'.

The expression τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου does indeed remain mysterious. On a first reading of Mt. 24, 30 this sign appears to be clearly distinguished from the Son of Man himself, whose coming is described after the appearance of His sign. On closer examination, however, expressions derived from Zechariah 12, 10. 12 and Daniel 7, 13 appear to be so closely interwoven as to make a clear distinction practically impossible.³

Even if the sign of the Son of Man is distinguished from the Son of

¹ In: *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, übersetzt und erklärt von JOSEF SCHMID (Regensburger Neues Testament) 1959, p. 338 f.

² P. BENOIT, *L'Évangile selon saint Matthieu* (Bible de Jérusalem), 1961³, p. 149. Cf. also *Het Nieuwe Testament van onze Heer Jesus Christus*, ed. cit., p. 80 f. Cf. the recent study of T. F. GLASSON, *The ensign of the Son of Man* (Mt. 24, 30), in JThS, N.S. 15 (1964), p. 199 f.

³ The only comparable expressions of the Gospel of Matthew are:

1. the sign of Jonah in Mt. 12, 38 ff. (cf. 16, 4), where Jonah is himself the sign (of the rest of death and the resurrection of Christ).
2. the expression in Mt. 24, 3: τὸ σημεῖον τῆς σῆς παρουσίας, which might apply equally well to Mt. 24, 24. 29 as to the sign of the Son of Man in Mt. 24, 30.

Man himself, it seems, in our opinion, impossible to say with certainty to what Matthew is referring by this sign of the Son of Man. We do feel, however, that K. Rengstorf's interpretation ¹ is not correct. Is the sign of the Son of Man here, as he asserts, 'etwas *eindeutig* Erschreckendes'? Rengstorf bases his interpretation on the reaction which the appearance of this sign arouses: 'then all the tribes of the earth will mourn'. This conclusion seems to us excessive. The continuation of the text is not in accordance with this 'eindeutig Erschreckendes': no express mention is made of judgment, but only of the gathering of the elect, for whom Christ's coming signifies their final Redemption (cf. Lk. 21, 28).

The mourning of all the tribes of the earth is plainly a reference to Zechariah 12, 10-12.² In this passage the prophet speaks of the house of David looking *mournfully* upon Him whom they have pierced.³ They shall mourn for Him as one mourns for an only child. This reference, appearing as it does in the Gospel of St. Matthew, intended for Jewish-Christians, seems to us significant.

Moreover, from the New Testament and from early Christian literature we gain the impression that the text of Zechariah 12, 10-12 was, together with (and sometimes linked with) Daniel 7, 13, one of the *testimonia* in connection with the Parousia. In Revelation 1, 7 John too quotes Zech. 12, 10 (more fully, however, than Matthew in 24, 30) and, like Matthew, links this quotation with Dan. 7, 13 in order to refer to the appearance of the Son of Man at His Second Coming. Zech. 12, 10-12 also appears to be a favourite theme in connection with the

¹ K. RENGSTORF (*art. cit.* p. 234 f.): 'Leider bleibt ... das Wort über "das Zeichen des Menschensohnes" in sich geheimnisvoll. Dem Zusammenhang lässt sich lediglich entnehmen, dass es sich in ihm um etwas *eindeutig* Erschreckendes handelt, da es alle Geschlechter der Erde veranlasst die Totenklage um sich selbst in den letzten hoffnungslosen Not anzustimmen. Mit anderen Worten: das Zeichen des Menschensohnes ist von einer Art, dass sich in ihm das Ende der bisherigen irdisch-menschlichen Existenz unerbittlich aufdrängt. Es kündigt diese Ende unabdingbar an und hat darin seinen eigentlichen Sinn ...' On p. 236: 'Angesichts dessen wird es eine sekundäre Frage, wie das Zeichen des Menschensohnes nun konkret vorzustellen ist. Etwas sicheres lässt sich darüber ohnehin nicht sagen'.

² K. RENGSTORF himself (*art. cit.* p. 235) admits this.

Cf. P. BENOIT (*loc. cit.*): '... tous les peuples de la terre se repentent et se convertissent, comme jadis les tribus d'Israel selon Zach. 12, 10-12, passage dont notre texte s'inspire'.

³ John sees the prediction of Zech. 12, 10 fulfilled in the piercing of Jesus' side after His death (Jn 19, 37). In this manner he links Zech. 12, 10 (in contrast with Rev. 1, 7) with the passion of Christ. So also Cyprian, *Test.* II, 20 (CSEL 3, 1 p. 88).

Parousia in early Christian literature. One has only to think of Ps. Barnabas,¹ Justin² and Irenaeus.³

As appears from early Apocrypha of the New Testament such as the *Apocalypsis Petri* 1 and the *Epistula Apostolorum* 16,⁴ the belief already prevailed in the second century that the Cross would precede Christ at His Second Coming.

Besides these Apocryphal references we also have the testimony of Church Fathers from the third century onwards, like Origen,⁵ Cyril of Jerusalem⁶ and John Chrysostom,⁷ who understood the sign of the Son of Man from Mt. 24, 30 as referring to the Cross.

Jerome too⁸ admits the possibility of this interpretation: '*Signum hic aut crucis intellegamus, ut videant iuxta Zachariam (12, 10) et Joannem (19, 37) Iudaei quem compunxerunt, aut vexillum victoriae triumphantis*'.

This belief also found expression in the Roman Liturgy of the feast of 'Exaltation of the Holy Cross', when the Church prays in the Vespers:

¹ Ch. 7, 9 (p. 19): ὀφονται αὐτὸν τότε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν ποδῆρῃ ἔχοντα τὸν κόκκινον περὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ ἐροῦσιν· Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃν ποτε ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσαμεν ἐξουθενήσαντες καὶ κατακεντήσαντες καὶ ἐμπύσαντες; It is clear from this text of Ps. Barnabas that he wished to refer to the Son of Man at His Parousia as the *Christus passus*, for He is recognized at His Second Coming as 'the Crucified'. Ps. Barnabas is hereby alluding to Zech. 12, 10.

Hippolytus too gives in his *Benedictiones Moysis* a striking text (Hippolyte de Rome, *Sur les Bénédictiones . . . de Moïse*, PO XXVII, p. 142). 'Quant à ce qu'il a dit: "Ses mains jugeront pour lui" (Deut. 33, 7), ce sont les mains qui ont été clouées au bois, ce sont celles qui jugent le monde en montrant à tous alors les marques des clous dans ses mains, comme lui aussi Jean dit: "Les yeux de tous ceux qui l'ont percé le verront"' (Jn. 19, 37).

So also the *Epistula Apostolorum* in the Ethiopic version (M. R. JAMES, *op. cit.* p. 490): 'He said unto us: "Yes, it is needful (to accomplish the drinking of the Passover) until the day, when I come with My wounds"'.

Cf. P. PRIGENT, *op. cit.* p. 106

² *I Apol.* 52, 10-12 (p. 63); *Dial.* 14, 8 (p. 107) as a quotation from *Hosea* (points to the use of testimonia) and linked with Dan. 7, 13. In *Dial.* 32, 2 (p. 126) Justin sees the ἐξεκεντήθη fulfilled by Christ's first Coming, the ἐπιγνώσεσθε εἰς ὃν ἐξεκεντήσατε by Christ's Second Coming. Further: *Dial.* 64, 7 (p. 171); *Dial.* 118, 1 (p. 235)

³ *Adv. Haer.* IV, 55, 1 (II, p. 265) linked with Dan. 7, 13 in a short, clear text: 'Alii (i.e. prophetae) super nubes, quemadmodum filium hominis, venientem, et dicentes de eo: "Videbunt in quem compunxerunt", adventum eius significabant'

⁴ Both Apocrypha are discussed on p. 76 f.

⁵ *Comm. in Matth.* 24, 30 (Origenes XI, p. 100).

⁶ *Cat.* 13, 41 (PG 33, c. 821); *Cat.* 15, 22 (PG 33, c. 900)

⁷ In *Matth.* 76 (PG 58, c. 698); cf. *ibid.* 54, 4 (PG 58, c. 537)

⁸ *Comm. in Matth.* 24, 30 (PL 26, c. 187).

'*Hoc signum crucis erit in caelo, cum Dominus ad iudicandum venerit*'.¹

That the Greek Fathers took τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου from Mt. 24, 30 to refer to the Cross, was undoubtedly partly influenced by the fact that σημεῖον (often determined by an attributive), was, as we shall subsequently see, one of the names for the cross of Christ.

2. The Apostolic Fathers

Didache 16, 6: The earliest text in the Apostolic Fathers which may presumably be connected with the Cross, namely *Did.* 16, 6 (p. 9), is also the most disputed text in our entire research. The text reads as follows: καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας: πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.

The translation reads: 'And then will the signs of the Truth appear: first the σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, then the sign of the sound of the trumpet, thirdly the resurrection of the dead'.

We have purposely left untranslated the expression with which we are concerned: σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ. What did the author mean by this expression? There is a great difference of opinion among scholars, which arises principally from the uncertainty concerning the meaning of the word ἐκπέτασις. The commentators of the *Didache* offer the following explanations:

F. X. Funk²: 'ἐκπέτασις: vox haud dubie a verbo ἐκπετάννυμι derivanda est ac denotat: explicatio, expansio, ita ut sensus sit: quando caelum Christo adveniente aperitur'.

Rudolf Knopf³ first gives the explanation: 'ἐκπέτασις: Ausbreitung = Öffnung'. That Knopf, however, did not find this completely satisfactory is evident from what follows: 'Es ist aber sehr wohl möglich, dass in σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως etwas ganz anderes steckt, nämlich ein absichtlich dunkler Hinweis darauf, dass der Menschensohn bei der Wiederkehr am Kreuz mit ausgestreckten Händen hängend (ἐκπέτασις) erscheinen wird'.

J. Audet⁴ is, however, more radical in his opinion: 'On ne voit pas,

¹ ERIK PETERSON, *Das Kreuz und das Gebet nach Osten*, in: *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis*, Rome 1959, p. 15-35, explains the cross in church apses as a symbol of the belief in the Second Coming of Christ: Christ and Cross belong together, so too at the Parousia.

² F. X. FUNK, *Patres apostolici I*, Tübingen 1901, p. 36 f.

³ R. KNOPF, *Die apostolischen Väter I Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel ...* (Ergänzungsband zum Handbuch zum Neuen Testament), Tübingen 1920, p. 39.

⁴ J. P. AUDET, *La Didaché Instructions des Apôtres* (Études Bibliques), Paris 1958, p. 473.

d'autre part, pourquoi le σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ne s'entendrait pas simplement suivant le sens normal des termes. Le véritable, et le seul, déterminatif d'ἐκπετάσεως est ἐν οὐρανῷ. C'est l'ouverture dans le ciel, premier moment de la fin et en même temps premier signe que l'événement est déjà en cours. Si l'auteur avait voulu parler de la croix de Jésus, il est à croire que le déterminatif n'aurait pas été seulement ἐν οὐρανῷ, même en style apocalyptique, où l'on s'accommode de bien des obscurités'.¹

In his article on σημεῖον K. Rengstorf² rejects Audet's explanation precisely because of the local ἐν οὐρανῷ and continues: 'So mag es richtiger sein anzunehmen, dass hier ein absichtlich dunkler Hinweis darauf vorliegt, dass der Menschensohn bei der Wiederkehr am Kreuz mit ausgestreckten Händen hängend (ἐκπέτασις) erscheinen wird', a text which agrees almost word for word with our quotation from R. Knopf.

This text from the Didache seems sufficiently important to merit a more penetrating examination within the framework of our own research.³

The word ἐκπέτασις appears to occur very rarely. So far as the profane writers are concerned, Liddell-Scott-Jones⁴ mentions only one instance from profane literature, namely Plutarch's *De sera numinis vindicta* 23 (*Moralia* 564 B): ἄλλαι (ψυχαί) . . . διεσήμεναι ὡς ἔοικε συστολῇ μὲν εἰς αὐτὰς τὸ δυσχεραίνειν, ἐκπετάσει δὲ καὶ διαχύσει τὸ χαῖρον καὶ προσιέμενον. Here it has the meaning of the expansion of the souls (with joy) as contrasted with the shrinking, shrivelling (συστολή).

The term ἐκπέτασις does not occur in the Septuagint, whereas the verb ἐκπετάζειν is found 18 times, 7 times for the stretching out of the hands or arms.⁵

The word ἐκπέτασις does not occur either in the New Testament, although again we find the verb ἐκπετάζειν in Rom. 10, 21, where Paul quotes the well known text from Is. 65, 2.

¹ Cf. the review of AUDET's book in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 85 (1960), p. 524 ff., by J. A. FISCHER: 'Das σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ist wohl nicht "le signe de l'ouverture", sondern nach E. STOMMEL das Zeichen des Menschensohnes, das Kreuz' (p. 525).

Also against AUDET: B. C. BUTLER; *Literary relations of Didache*, ch. 16, in *JThS N. S.* 11 (1960), p. 265-283, esp. p. 276-280.

² *Art. cit.* p. 260 f.

³ Many details are derived from ED. STOMMEL, *Σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως* (*Did.* 16, 6), in *RQ* 48 (1953), p. 21-42.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 516 s.v. ἐκπέτασις.

⁵ Ex. 9, 29, 33; 2 Ezra. 9, 5; Sir. 48, 20; 51, 19; Is. 65, 2; Lam. 1, 10.

In the works of the Apostolic Fathers, *Didache* 16, 6 is the only place in which ἐκπέτασις occurs.¹ We find the verb ἐκπετάζειν in Ps. Barnabas 12, 4 (p. 25), where once again the text of Is. 65, 2 is quoted, this time as a *testimonium crucis*, and also in Hermas, *Sim.* IX, 3, 2 (p. 78), where mention is likewise made of the stretching out of the hands.

It is evident from this that the use of ἐκπέτασις in *Did.* 16, 6 finds no obvious support either in profane or sacred literature. The use of the verb ἐκπετάζειν/ἐκπεταγνύναι, however, of which ἐκπέτασις is the corresponding *nomen actionis*, does suggest the meaning: 'the stretching out of the hands'.

With regard to the context: in this last chapter of the *Didache* (ch. 16), after an exhortation to persevere unto the end (1-2) the author speaks of the end of time (3-5) and the Second Coming of the Lord (6-8). The similarity in description, even in vocabulary, between *Did.* 16, 6-8 and Matthew 24, 10-13. 30-31 is striking. In *Did.* 16, 6 three σημεῖα of the Second Coming of the Lord are indicated:

1. the σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως
2. the sign of the sound of the trumpet
3. the sign of the resurrection of the dead. That this is intended to refer only to the resurrection of the elect appears from the closer definition of the dead in *Did.* 16, 7: 'The resurrection, not of all but, as it has been said: "The Lord will come, and all the holy ones with Him" (Zech. 14, 5).
4. This quotation from Zechariah is followed in *Did.* 16, 8 (the last sentence of this work) by the coming of the Lord upon the clouds of heaven.

So we find in *Did.* 16, 6-8 all the details from Mt. 24, 30-31, but in a different sequence. We will now list the details in the *Didache* in the same sequence as they are found in Matthew:

3. the sound of the trumpet (Mt. 24, 31)
4. the resurrection (the gathering) of the elect (*ibid.*)
2. the coming of the Lord (the Son of Man) upon the clouds of heaven (Mt. 24, 30).

There remains only one detail, of which the identity is not obvious:

1. *Didache*: σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως (*Did.* 16, 6).
1. Matthew: σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Mt. 24, 30).

¹ G. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*. fasc. 2 (1962), refers on p. 436 s.v. ἐκπέτασις only to *Did.* 16, 6. and translates 'rift' (eschat.) without giving any comment.

Is it possible that these two expressions refer to the same thing? In *Did.* 16, 8 the writer quotes Dan. 7, 13: τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν Κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. He was evidently unwilling to adopt the expression ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου¹ from Daniel. It is therefore not surprising that we do not find this expression either in *Did.* 16, 6. Could it be, then, that ἐκπέτασις is an equivalent for ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, like Κύριος in *Did.* 16, 8? This does not seem very likely, since both Κύριος and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου refer to a person, whereas ἐκπέτασις is a name of a thing.

Ed. Stommel has approached this problem in a different manner. As we have already noted in our examination of Mt. 24, 30, the Greek Fathers, supported by popular belief as already revealed in the early Apocrypha, saw in τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου a reference to the Cross. The striking similarity between Mt. 24, 30 f. and *Did.* 16, 6–8 leads us to enquire: does σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως perhaps refer to the Cross? Starting from this assumption Stommel has assembled material to prove that ἐκπέτασις is employed in the meaning of ‘crucifixion’ or of ‘hanging on the cross’. He begins by making the following general comment²: Nowadays, in the description of the crucifixion, it is the nailing to the cross which is particularly stressed. People in Antiquity, who in many cases had themselves seen the crucified hanging on their crosses, in thinking of the punishment of the cross were struck more by the painful, distorted attitude of the body (with outstretched arms and legs) as a result of the nailing. This for them was the especial torment of crucifixion. This opinion seems also to have found expression in linguistic usage.

In proof of this theory Stommel first refers to Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* VI, 17, 28,³ where Lactantius has Seneca typify crucifixion as the *extendere per patibulum manus*.⁴ He then quotes Athanasius.⁵

¹ Cf the word Κύριος in *Did.* 16, 1. 7.

It is noteworthy that in the Aramaic Parousia prayer *maranatha* (1 Cor. 16, 23, *Did.* 10, 6, cf Rev 22, 20) the word *Māran* = Κύριος is also used

Cf PER BESKOW, *op. cit.* p. 45 ff

² *Art. cit.* p. 22.

³ CSEL 19, p. 546. ‘Item Seneca in libris moralis philosophiae dicentis “Hic est ille homo . . . , qui . . . sive extendendae per patibulum manus, non quaerit, quid patiatur, sed quam bene” (fragm. 124).

⁴ We can also refer to Seneca, *Ad Marciam, de consolatione* 20 already quoted on p. 8). ‘Video istuc cruces non unius generis, sed aliter ab aliis fabricatas capite quidam conversos in terram suspendere, alii per obscoena stipitem egerunt, alii brachia patibulo explicuerunt’.

⁵ *De incarn. Verbi*, 25 (PG 25, c. 140) ἐν μόνῳ γὰρ τῷ σταυρῷ ἐκτεταμέναις χερσὶ τις ἀποθνήσκει.

We may add: Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* ch. II, III, 2 (I, p. 79), where Clement, alluding to the crucifixion, paradoxically remarks: 'By his outstretched arms (χερσὶν ἡπλωμέναις) He (the Lord) showed that man was (again) free (from the chains of sin).

In more detail than Stommel we should like to refer to the Paschal homily, inspired by Hippolytus and edited by P. Nautin.¹ In ch. 54, 1 (p. 181) the verb συνεκτείνεσθαι in the clause: τότε δὴ συνεκτείνονται αὐτῷ δύο λησται is evidently used in the sense of 'being crucified with'. In ch. 56 (p. 185) we read the exclamation: ὦ τῆς θείας ἐκτάσεως τῆς ἐν πᾶσι καὶ πανταχοῦ, ὦ τῆς διὰ πάντων ἀπλουμένης σταυρώσεως. Here the attitude of the crucified Lord is viewed in the light of its cosmic effect, and is referred to symbolically as an ἑκτασις ἐν πᾶσι καὶ πανταχοῦ.

In ch. 38 (p. 159 f.) we find the ἑκτασις τῶν χειρῶν as a protective gesture, but also to indicate the attitude of the crucified Christ: καὶ χειρὰς ἐξέτεινας πατρικᾶς, ἐκάλυψας ἡμᾶς ἐντὸς τῶν πτερύγων σου τῶν πατρικῶν.²

In his study Stommel also includes the text from John 21, 18: 'When you are old, you will stretch out your hands (ἐκτενεῖς τὰς χειρὰς σου) and another will gird you and carry you where you do not wish to go'. In Stommel's opinion Peter, in view of the use of ἐκτείνειν, interpreted this as a prediction of his crucifixion.³ This opinion of Stommel is supported by J. Bernard,⁴ who refers to two texts by profane writers in which the ἐκτείνειν τὰς χειρὰς is viewed as characteristic of the crucifixion.⁵

¹ P. NAUTIN, *Une homélie, inspirée du traité sur la Pâque d'Hippolyte* (Homélie pascales I, SC 27), Paris 1950. We will return to this homily in our second appendix.

² CH. MARTIN, *Un περί τοῦ Πάσχα de saint Hippolyte retrouvé?*, in RSR 16 (1926), p. 160 f., thinks that this use of the image of the outstretched arms of Christ upon the Cross is one of the indications of Hippolytus' authorship.

³ *Art. cit.* p. 23. 'Auf dem Hintergrunde eines so allgemeinen Sprachgebrauches, durfte auch für Simon Petrus kein Zweifel über die Art seines Todes bestanden haben. Wenn auch hier genau wie bei Seneca eine leichte Verhüllung durch gehobene Sprechweise in Anrechnung zu bringen ist, wie es auch der Zusatz des Evangelisten (Jn 21, 19) andeutet, so darf doch aus einer ähnlichen Vorhersage der Todesart Jesu, wobei der Evangelist den gleichen erläuternden Zusatz macht, obwohl das Volk die Andeutung Jesu wohl verstanden hat (Jn. 12, 32 ff.), geschlossen werden, dass auch Petrus die Ankündigung seines Todes verstehen konnte'.

⁴ In *Gospel according to John II*, p. 708 (ICC; 1928).

⁵ Epictetus, *Diatr.* III, 26, 22 (ed. H. SCHENKL, Leipzig 1916, p. 349): ... ἐκτείνας σεαυτὸν ὡς οἱ ἐσταυρωμένοι.

Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica I*, 76 (ed. R. HERCHER, Leipzig 1864, p. 69): κακοῦργος δὲ ὦν σταυρωθήσεται διὰ τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὴν τῶν χειρῶν ἑκτασιν.

Augustine too, according to Stommel,¹ writes in his commentary on John 21, 18²: '*Extendēs, inquit, manus tuas, hoc est crucifigeris*'.

Attractive though this interpretation is, however, there are two reasons which render it unacceptable:

1. In this passage the image is used of the putting on of the girdle (ζωννύναι); the young man girds himself, an old man must allow others to gird him and therefore first stretch out his hands (ἐκτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας).
2. The sequence of the acts too makes Stommel's interpretation unlikely:
 - a. the stretching out of the hands
 - b. the putting on of the girdle
 - c. the being carried away

Especially the 'being carried away' after the stretching out of the hands is difficult to reconcile with a veiled allusion to the crucifixion. In our opinion this passage contains an allusion only to death imposed by others, in other words, to martyrdom.³

The explanation of Augustine in his commentary on John (*loc. cit*) '*extendēs manus tuas, hoc est, crucifigeris*' must therefore be considered as an *interpretatio post factum*.

With the exception of this text of John 21, 18, however, we are able to agree with E. Stommel when, on the basis of the texts quoted, he affirms that ἐκτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας and ἑκτασις (τῶν) χειρῶν were used intelligibly as terms for 'being crucified' and 'the attitude of the crucified' respectively.

The next step⁴ is to prove by means of texts that ἐκτείνειν and ἐκπετάζειν are used indiscriminately in such a context. For profane literature we may refer to Lucian's *Prometheus* 1, where Hephaestus says to Hermes concerning Prometheus: ἀνεσταυρώσθω ἐκπετασθεὶς τῷ χεῖρε. Turning to Christian literature we find that Ps. Barnabas quotes as a τύπος τοῦ σταυροῦ in ch. 12, 2 (p. 25) Moses' attitude of prayer: ἐξέτεινεν τὰς χεῖρας, and also gives in ch. 12, 4 (*ibid*) the text of Is. 65, 2: ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου, meaning the same in both

¹ *Art cit* p. 24

² PL 35, c. 1969.

³ Cf. F. M. BRAUN, *L'Évangile selon saint Jean* (La sainte Bible X), Paris 1948, p. 483

A. WINKENHAUSEN, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (Regensburger Neues Testament), 1957, p. 351

D. MOLLAT, *L'Évangile de saint Jean* (Bible de Jérusalem), 1960², p. 192 f

⁴ Cf. *art cit* p. 23

cases.¹ For Moses' attitude of prayer, Justin, *Dial.* 90, 4 (p. 204), in contrast to Ps. Barnabas, employs the verb ἐκπετάζειν: τὰς χεῖρας ἐκατέρως ἐκπετάσας.² In the *Sibylline Oracles* VIII, 251 (p. 157), in the line immediately following the acrostic σταυρός, the poet says of the crucified Christ:

ὃν Μωσῆς ἐτύπωσε προτείνας ὠλένας ἄγνας

but in the same Book VIII, line 302 (p. 161) the poet employs the verb ἐκπετάζειν for Christ's attitude upon the Cross:

ἐκπετάσει χεῖρας καὶ κόσμον ἅπαντα μετρήσει.

There is no possible doubt that ἐκτείνειν/προτείνειν and ἐκπετάζειν are used indiscriminately in these texts.

That 'dementsprechend *extensio* (= Kreuzigung) im Griechischen durch ἔκτασις wie durch ἐπέτασις wiedergegeben werden kann' ³ might seem logically to be a correct conclusion, but philologically speaking, there is no clear argument to support it, when we leave our disputed text out of consideration. Our objection to the otherwise penetrating argumentation of Stommel must therefore be that his conclusion is arrived at deductively but is not based upon texts.

There is the additional objection that Stommel makes it appear as though ἐκτείνειν/ἐκπετάζειν τὰς χεῖρας (*extendere manus*) and ἔκτασις (*extensio*) were common terms for crucifixion, whereas we are under the impression ⁴ that these words, which indicate much more the characteristic attitude of the person crucified, were never employed as usual terms.

Our conclusion must therefore be that from a purely philological point of view we must be satisfied with a verdict of *non liquet*.⁵

This does not mean, however, that we reject Stommel's interpretation of the σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως as improbable. We should only be inclined to formulate the argument in the following manner: the typological vision, peculiar to early Christendom, led the author of the

¹ According to B. C. BUTLER, *art. cit.* p. 280, Ps. Barnabas 12, 4 gives us the clue to *Did.* 16, 6.

² In the ἔκτασις χειρῶν the human form, according to Justin, *I Apol.* 55, 4 (p. 66), symbolizes the shape of the cross.

For the expression ἔκτασις χειρῶν, used of Moses' attitude of prayer, see also: *Dial.* 112, 2; 131, 4.

³ ED. STOMMEL, *art. cit.* p. 23.

⁴ See our introductory remarks in chapter I, p. 2 ff.

⁵ W. BOUSSET, *Platons Weltseele und das Kreuz Christi*, in *ZNW* 14 (1913), p. 284 thinks it not impossible that in *Did.* 16, 6 ἐπεκτάσεως should be read instead of ἐκπετάσεως.

Didache to employ this for us somewhat 'veiled' term for the cross of Christ. It is, indeed, noteworthy that in the early centuries of Christianity the following were repeatedly viewed as types of the Cross:

1. Moses' attitude of prayer in Israel's struggle against Amalek (Ex. 17, 10ff.). In addition to the texts already quoted¹ we can also refer to:

Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* IV, 38, 1 (II, p. 232): '... *primogenitum mortuorum et principem vitae Dei, eum qui per extensionem manuum dissolvebat Amalech*' and *adv. Haer.* IV, 50 (II, p. 256): '... (*Christus*) *per extensionem manuum dissolvens quidem Amalech*'. So also *Dem.* 46 (p. 78): '... He too frees us from Amalek by the stretching forth of His hands, and takes us and bears us into the kingdom of the Father'. Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* III, 18, 6 (p. 532f.): '*Iam vero Moyses, quid ... cum Jesus adversus diabolum proeliabatur, expansis manibus orat residens, ... nisi quia illic, ubi nomen Domini dimicabat, dimicaturi quandoque adversus diabolum, crucis quoque habitus erat necessarius, per quam Jesus victoriam esset relaturus?*'

2. The text of Isaiah 65, 2: 'I spread out my hands (ἐξέπεντασα τὰς χεῖράς μου) all the day to a rebellious people'.²

Regarding this *testimonium* we can, leaving aside the text of Ps. Barnabas 12, 4 which we have already quoted, refer to:

Justin, *Dial.* 97, 2 (p. 211), where this text of Isaiah is quoted as a prediction of the manner of Christ's death.³

Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* IV, 55, 3 (II, p. 267), where Irenaeus refers to the suffering Christ, predicted by the prophet as: '*extendentem manus per totam diem*'; *Dem.* 79 (p. 97), where the following is mentioned as the first of a series of *testimonia crucis*: 'Concerning His cross Isaiah says as follows: "I have stretched forth my hands all the day to a stubborn and contrary people"; for this is a figure of the Cross'.

Tertullian, *adv. Iud.* 13, 10 (p. 1386), who gives this text as a *testimonium crucis*: '... *cum ducatus eius ... pati haberet secundum Scripturas prophetarum dicentium: "Expandi manus meas tota die ad populum contumacem et contradicentem mihi"*'.

¹ Viz. Ps. Barnabas 12, 2; Justin's *Dial.* 90, 4; *Or. Sib.* VIII, 251. Cf. in addition Justin, *Dial.* 112, 2, (p. 228) where the σημεῖον of the brazen serpent is juxtaposed to the ἑκτασίς χειρῶν of Moses, and *Dial.* 131, 4 (p. 253), where mention is made of the τύπος τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν Μωυσέως.

Cf. also *Dial.* 97, 1; 111, 1.

² Already in Rom. 10, 21 Paul quotes the text of Is. 65, 2, not, however, as a *testimonium crucis* but as a *testimonium* of the unbelief of the Jews.

³ Cf. *I Apol.* 35, 3; 38, 1; *Dial.* 114, 2.

It is evident from these quotations that both Moses' attitude of prayer during Israel's struggle against Amalek and the prediction of Isaiah 65, 2 were traditional *testimonia crucis* in the second century. It is, moreover, clear that it is precisely this stretching out of the arms (ἐκτάσις χειρῶν) which has caused these passages to be seen as *testimonia crucis*.

This same atmosphere may also serve to explain the cross symbolism which we find expressed in the *Odes of Solomon*:

Ode 27, 1 (II, p. 356):

'I expanded my hands and I sanctified (them) to my Lord;
for the expansion of my hands is His sign'

So also in *Ode* 42, 1 (II, p. 403):

'I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord;
for the stretching out of my hands is His sign' ¹

Hereby 'the sign of the Lord' is seen in the expansion of the hands, in other words, in the cross symbolism.

This typological, symbolic manner of viewing, which is common in the second century, renders it probable that ἐκπέτασις in *Did.* 16, 6 must be interpreted in the sense of the stretching out (of the arms).² One of our objections to the explanation offered by J. Audet ³ is that he bases his theory solely on the expression σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ as it occurs in the text, without seeking for possible points of contact in early Christian literature in order to render this rather vague expression more vivid for us.

E. Stommel,⁴ like R. Connolly,⁵ considers that he finds support for his thesis in a text from the *Didascalia*,⁶ namely:

Didasc. VI, 15, 4: In this passage the word *extensio* is used in connection with the Cross. With reference to Mt. 5, 18 the author says: '*Lex vero est decalogus et iudicia, sicubi testimonium praebet Jesus Dominus dicens: "Iota, id est unus apex, non transiet a lege". Iota*

¹ We shall return to these quotations from the *Odes of Solomon*, already quoted on p. 73, later in this chapter (on p. 145).

² Cf. also W. BOUSSET, *Kyrios Christos*, Göttingen 1926³, p. 238, footnote 6: σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως: zu übersetzen: 'Zeichen der Ausbreitung, d.h. der Arme'.

³ See p. 123 f.

⁴ *Art. cit.* p. 24 f. Since the terms of the *Didascalia* are so interesting in relation to our own research we have adopted STOMMEL's argument.

⁵ R. H. CONNOLLY, *The use of the Didache in the Didascalia*, in JThS 24 (1923) p. 152 f.

⁶ R. H. CONNOLLY, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Oxford 1929, p. 216 ff.

*quidem est, quod non transiet a lege, iota autem significatur per decalogum nomen Jesu, apex vero signum est extensionis ligni*¹

The *iota* (I) as an indication of the name Jesus, although not the usual abbreviation, is familiar to us from the acrostic IXΘΥΣ. The explanation of the *apex* (= κεραία) *signum extensionis ligni*² is a reference to the Cross. Firstly, since *lignum* (= ξύλον) is commonly used to refer to Christ's cross,³ secondly because κεραία (= *apex*) is connected etymologically with κέρας, and this word is also interpreted typologically⁴ and symbolically⁵ in relation to the Cross.

If we were to translate literally the expression *signum extensionis ligni* from the Latin into the original Greek. σημείον ἐκ(πε)τάσεως (τοῦ) ξύλου⁶ this might confirm us in our opinion to apply to the Cross the expression from *Did.* 16, 6 which for us is so obscure⁷

That the σημείον ἐκπετάσεως from *Did.* 16, 6 was identified in the fourth century with the σημείον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου from Mt 24, 30, appears from the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* VII, 32, 3.⁸ The author of the *Constitutiones* VII⁹ replaced the expression σημείον ἐκπετάσεως from the *Didache* by that of Matthew: σημείον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

Conclusion Considered by itself in its immediate context, the expression σημείον ἐκπετάσεως is difficult to interpret. Nevertheless, for the reasons set out here, we think that we have grounds for believing

¹ The Scriptural quotation (Mt 5, 18) reads in the Greek text ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου

² The Syriac version reads '... the extension of the wood of the Cross' CONNOLLY, *Didascalia* p 218 in footnote, supposes that this is an explanatory addition, attributable to the Syriac translator

³ Cf chapter 1, *passim*

⁴ Cf this chapter, under the heading 'Horns(s)' on p 97 ff

⁵ Cf Tertullian, *adv Marc* III, 18, 4 (p 532), who saw in the *antenna* (= κεραία) a symbol of the transverse beam of the Cross

Cf H. RAHNER, *Antenna crucis IV, Das Kreuz als Mastbaum und Antenne*, in ZKTh 75 (1953) p 129-173

⁶ The *iota* and the *apex* (= κεραία) do, moreover, form a cross

Cf the interesting study of the *iota* and the *apex* as cross symbolism in Gregory of Nyssa by J. DANIELOU, in *Le symbolisme cosmique de la Croix*, LMD 75 (1963), p 34 f

⁷ Cf R. H. CONNOLLY, *art cit* p 153 'There can be little doubt that our author took the expression from the *Didache*, and that his Greek was σημείον ἐκπετάσεως τοῦ ξύλου

Cf also B. C. BUTLER, *art cit* p 280

⁸ F. X. FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* I, Paderborn 1905, p 422

⁹ *Constitutiones* VII is in part an adaptation of the *Didache*, ch 32, 1-4 of *Did* 16, 3-8

this in itself vague, perhaps deliberately veiled expression to refer to the Cross

- 1 The frequent use of the words ἐκτείνειν/ἐκπετάζειν and ἑκτασις in connection with the crucifixion or the characteristic attitude of the person crucified
- 2 The typological interpretation in connection with Christ's cross of a Moses' attitude of prayer in Israel's struggle against Amalek
b Isaiah 65, 2
These two Scriptural passages are important, not alone for the cruciform attitude, but also for the words in which this attitude is expressed
- 3 The cross symbolism in the attitude of prayer as described in the *Odes of Solomon*, viewed in relation to the words with which this symbolism is described

All this must be considered against the background of the belief in the appearance of the *crux gloriosa* at the Parousia, a belief which emanates from the early Apocrypha and from the writings of the Greek Fathers

Ps Barnabas 12, 5 (p 25) Apart from *Didache* 16, 6 the word σημεῖον occurs nine times in the Apostolic Fathers.¹ The only one of importance for our research is *Ps Barn.* 12, 5

In ch 12, 5-7, speaking of figures of the Cross and of Him who was to suffer upon it, *Ps Barnabas* elaborates on the brazen serpent from Numbers 21, 4-9.² As an introduction to this story *Ps Barnabas*, who is always mindful to reveal the deeper significance of every person, thing or event in the Old Testament,³ has the following to say⁴ 'Once again, as Israel fell, did Moses form a type of Jesus, (to show) that He would have to suffer, and that He would also waken again to life, He whom they would think themselves to have killed on a sign (ἐν σημείῳ)' There can be no doubt but that this sign (σημεῖον) refers to the cross of Christ. The use of the single σημεῖον for the Cross can only be explained here by the influence of the text of Numbers 21, 8 f.⁵

¹ *Did* 16, 4, *1 Clem* 11, 2, 12, 7, 25, 1, 51, 5 so-called 2 *Clem* 15, 4, *Ps Barn* 4, 14, 5, 8, 12, 5

² In *Wisd* 16, 6 the brazen serpent is called συμβολον σωτηρίας Philo, *Leg all* II, 20, 79-81 (I, p 106) saw in the brazen serpent a symbol of self-control, but in the serpent in Paradise a symbol of self-indulgence

³ Cf *Ps Barn* I, 5 (p 10) ἵνα τελείαν εχητε τὴν γνῶσιν, cf also ch 9, 9

⁴ Πάλιν Μωυσῆς ποιεῖ τύπον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν παθεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ζωοποιήσῃ, δὲν δόξουσιν ἀπολωλέκεναι ἐν σημείῳ, πίπτοντος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ

⁵ Cf P PRIGENT *op cit* p 121, who rightly refers to Justin's *Dial* 72, 1 and

In Numbers 21, 8 the Septuagint reads: ποίησον σεαυτῷ ὄφιν καὶ θές αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σημείου; in Numbers 21, 9: Μωυσῆς . . . ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σημείου.¹ It is, however, rather surprising that Ps. Barnabas does not use the word σημεῖον in ch. 12, 6 (*ibid.*) in the rendering of Numbers 21, 9: 'Moses, he says, caused a brazen serpent to be made and set it up high (ἐνδόξως)'.² He makes no mention at all of God's command to Moses. If this in itself already illustrates the free manner in which he quotes Scriptural texts, it emerges even more clearly in ch. 12, 7, a paraphrase of part of Numbers 21, 8. The text of Numbers 21, 8 reads (God speaks to Moses): 'If any man is bitten by a serpent and then looks at this (brazen serpent), then everyone who is bitten, shall live'. Ps. Barnabas paraphrases (Moses speaks) as follows: 'If any one of you is bitten, he must come to the (brazen) serpent that hangs upon the wood (τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐπικείμενον) and have faith, in the belief that this serpent, although it is lifeless, can give life, and immediately he shall be cured'. Among the many additions introduced by Ps. Barnabas, we also find the expression: τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐπικείμενον. Although the word ξύλον does not appear in the text of Numbers, this addition leaves no possible doubt as to Ps. Barnabas' typological interpretation of this passage.³

That the typological interpretation of the brazen serpent led to the use of the word σημεῖον in ch. 12, 5, is also evident from Justin's Dialogue.

Moreover, if the typological interpretation of an Old Testament passage anywhere rests on a firm basis then it is here, where the connection between the setting up of the brazen serpent and Christ's 'elevation' on the Cross is established in the New Testament itself (Jn. 3, 14f.).

94, 1-2, texts which we shall discuss later

Cf., however, the remark of W. BAUER, *op. cit.* c. 1482 s v σημεῖον: 'An der schwierigen Stelle Barn 12, 5 wird σημεῖον wohl am besten als *durch ein Wahrzeichen* gefasst, doch ist der Text möglicherweise nicht in Ordnung'.

¹ In this instance the Greek σημεῖον does not go back to the Hebrew 'ōt, but to nēs, which according to K. RENGSTORF (ThW VII, p 207, s v σημεῖον), here has the meaning of 'etwas Herausragendes und deshalb gut Sichtbares', and which he translates by 'eine hohe Stange'.

In Numbers 21, 8 and 9 the Vulgate translation has: *pro signo*

² In the Latin translation (J H HEER, *op. cit.* p 71) '*Serpentem aereum . . . posuit in cruce*'.

³ See chapter 1, p. 30.

3. *Justin Martyr*

Apart from Justin Martyr the word *σημεῖον* occurs in only a few cases in the works of the Apologists; in none of these cases has it any connection with the Cross.

In Justin, on the contrary, we note a frequent use of *σημεῖον*, in his *Dialogue* at least,¹ usually in connection with an Old Testament text.² Six instances from the *Dialogue* merit closer examination; we shall discuss them in order, systematizing to some extent.

Dial. 72, 1 (p. 182): Just as Justin accuses the Jews of having deliberately omitted the words ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου from Ps. 95, 10 (cf. *Dial.* 73, 1-2), in the same way they are said to have deleted the following passage from the Book of Ezra³: 'This Pasch is our Redeemer and our refuge. And if you think in mind and heart that we shall abase Him on a sign (ὅτι μέλλομεν αὐτὸν ταπεινοῦν ἐν σημείῳ), and if afterwards we shall put our hope in Him, then this place will never be destroyed in all eternity. So says the Lord of Hosts. But if you do not believe in Him, and do not listen to His preaching, then you will be an object of mockery for the unbelievers'.

We find this same 'Ezra text' in Lactantius, with a few small variations.⁴

This 'Ezra quotation' is not to be found in any Ezra manuscript. Moreover, the expression: 'This Pasch is our Redeemer' would seem to be inspired by 1 Cor. 5, 7: 'For Christ, our Pasch, has been sacrificed'. The verb ταπεινοῦν too forms part of the Christian vocabulary in connection with the passion of Christ.⁵ There is therefore every reason for

¹ In the *first Apology* the word *σημεῖον* occurs only once, in ch. 55, 6 (p. 67). Although this passage deals with cross symbolism *σημεῖον* has here the general meaning of 'sign' or 'symbol'.

² Only in *Dial.* 107 f. (p. 223 f.), where mention is made of 'the sign of Jonah', is *σημεῖον* derived from the New Testament.

³ Τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ καταφυγὴ ἡμῶν. Καὶ ἐὰν διανοηθῇτε καὶ ἀναβῇ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν, ὅτι μέλλομεν αὐτὸν ταπεινοῦν ἐν σημείῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐλπίζωμεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, οὐ μὴ ἐρημωθῇ ὁ τόπος οὗτος εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον, λέγει ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων. Ἄν δὲ μὴ πιστεύσῃτε αὐτῷ μηδὲ εἰσακούσῃτε τοῦ κηρύγματος αὐτοῦ, ἔσεσθε ἐπὶ χάρμα τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

⁴ *Div. Inst.* IV, 18, 22 (CSEL 19, p. 355 f.): '*Aput Hesdram ita scriptum est: "Et dixit Hesdras ad populum: Hoc Pascha Salvator noster est et refugium nostrum. Cogitate et ascendat in cor vestrum, quoniam habemus humiliare eum in signo, et post haec sperabimus in eum, ne deseratur hic locus in aeternum tempus, dicit Dominus Deus virtutum. Si non credideritis neque exaudieritis adnuntiationem eius, eritis derisio in gentibus"*'.

⁵ Cf. Phil. 2, 8. Cf. also J. DANIÉLOU, *Judéo-Christianisme*, p. 115 f.

thinking that this quotation originates from a Christian adaptation of Ezra.¹

One thing is clear: the meaning of *σημεῖον* in this quotation presented no problem for Justin; it referred to the cross of Christ. This use of *σημεῖον* (without the article) as a term for Christ's cross agrees therefore with that of Ps. Barnabas.

Whereas, however, in the following instances the context provides an indication for Justin's use of *σημεῖον* in connection with the cross of Christ, in this quotation (where the vocabulary is not Justin's own) the motivation escapes us.²

Dial. 90, 5 (p. 204): In this chapter Justin attempts to explain to Trypho, at his own request, that the Messiah's death on the Cross, which appears so shameful to Trypho, was already indicated by Moses in *σημεῖα*.³ In the first place he draws Trypho's attention to Moses' attitude of prayer during Israel's struggle against Amalek as a cross position (ch. 90, 4). As he explains in ch. 90, 5, Israel did not win because Moses prayed in this position (οὕτως ἤϋχετο) but because this position had value as a sign since it symbolized the Cross: αὐτός (i.e. Moses) τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐποίησεν.⁴ *Σημεῖον* τοῦ σταυροῦ cannot possibly have the meaning of our sign of the cross here.

¹ Cf. A. RESCH, *op. cit.* p. 304 f.

² In connection with this 'Ezra prophecy', in which the crucifixion is referred to, we should like to recall again the mysterious 'Scriptural quotation' from Ps. Barnabas 12, 1, a 'prophecy' which also applies to the Cross and part of which shows similarity to texts from the Apocryphal IV Ezra 4, 33 and 5, 5 (see p. 27 f.)

In Hippolytus' *Benedictiones Moysis* (ed. cit. p. 131) we also find a supposed Ezra quotation which also refers to the crucifixion and might possibly be the work of the same Christian adapter of Ezra: 'Et Esdras d'une voix prophétique a dit la même chose "Béni le Seigneur, qui a étendu ses mains et fait revivre Jérusalem"' (cf. 2 Ezr. 7, 27 f.) Here the expression, 'qui a étendu ses mains' alludes to the crucifixion and is completely in accordance with the texts which we have already quoted in connection with the *σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως*

³ Cf. A. RESCH, *op. cit.* p. 305

In *Dial.* 90, 3 (*ibid.*) and *Dial.* 93, 5 (p. 208) *σημεῖον* is indeed used in connection with types of the Cross in the sense of 'referring sign', but not in the meaning of 'cross'

⁴ In *Dial.* 91, 3 (p. 205) and *Dial.* 111, 1-2 (p. 227) Justin employs the word *τύπος* in order to express Moses' attitude of prayer in connection with the Cross.

Cf. F. J. DOLGER, *Beitrage zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens V*, in JAC 5 (1962) p. 7, footnote 19, referring to *Dial.* 90, 4 (p. 204): (Μωυσῆς) τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐποίησεν: 'Der Ausdruck ist vollig gleichwertig mit Barn. 12, 2 (p. 25) ἵνα ποιήσῃ τύπον σταυροῦ. Hier bedeutet *σημεῖον* wie *τύπος* noch die in der Ausstreckung der Hände gegebene sinnbildliche Darstellung des Kreuzes'

The σημεῖον of the brazen serpent

We shall include under this heading the various places where Justin speaks of the brazen serpent.

Dial. 91, 4 (p. 206): In this chapter too mention is made of σημεῖα of the Cross in the Old Testament. After speaking of the horns of the unicorn from Deut. 33, 17 (ch. 91, 1-2) and of Moses' attitude of prayer (ch. 91, 3), Justin goes on to mention the setting up of the brazen serpent. The passage reads as follows ¹: 'The provision against the serpents that had bitten Israel, was apparently also made by means of a prefigurative sign (διὰ τύπου καὶ σημείου). For the setting up (of the brazen serpent) was clearly made for the salvation of those who believe that its sense was: to proclaim that by Him who was to be crucified death was to come to the serpent, but salvation to those who, bitten by the serpent, seek refuge with Him, who has sent His Son, who was crucified, into the world'.²

Although in ch. 91, 2 and also in ch. 91, 3 Justin uses τύπος, here, when speaking of the brazen serpent, he employs the expression τύπος καὶ σημεῖον. It seems to us that this addition: καὶ σημεῖον is influenced by Numbers 21, 8 f. where the word σημεῖον is also used. This would imply that σημεῖον has here the nuance of 'a sign referring to the Cross', but there is no proof of this in the context. We do, however, find confirmation of this supposition in *Dial.* 94.

Dial. 94 (p. 208f.): In this chapter Justin goes into more details concerning the figure of the brazen serpent. The text speaks for itself ³: ch. 94, 1: 'Tell me then, was it not God who, through Moses, had forbidden to make any image or likeness of what is in heaven above or

¹ Καὶ διὰ τοῦ τύπου δὲ καὶ σημείου τοῦ κατὰ τῶν δακόντων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ὄφρων ἡ ἀνάθεσις φαίνεται γεγεννημένη ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν πιστευόντων ὅτι διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦσθαι μέλλοντος θάνατος γενήσεσθαι ἔκτοτε προεκκηρύσσεται τῷ ὄφει, σωτηρία δὲ τοῖς καταδακνομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ προσφεύγουσι τῷ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πέμψαντι εἰς τὸν κόσμον.

² Cf. for the translation of Justin's *Dialogue* 91, 4 and 94: A. L. WILLIAMS, *op. cit.* p. 194 and p. 199 respectively.

³ Εἶπατε γάρ μοι, οὐχὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ ἐντειλάμενος διὰ Μωυσέως μήτε εἰκόνα μήτε ὁμοίωμα μήτε τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄνω μήτε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὅλως ποιῆσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διὰ τοῦ Μωυσέως τὸν χαλκοῦν ὄφιν ἐνήργησε γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐπὶ σημείον ἔστησε, δι' οὗ σημείου ἐσώζοντο οἱ ὀφιδόηκτοι, καὶ ἀναίτιός ἐστιν ἀδικίας; Μυστήριον γάρ διὰ τούτου, ὡς προέφην, ἐκήρυσσε, δι' οὗ καταλύειν μὲν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ὄφρος, τοῦ καὶ τὴν παράβασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμ γενέσθαι ἐργασαμένου, ἐκήρυσσε, σωτηρίαν δὲ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν διὰ τοῦ σημείου τούτου, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ θανατοῦσθαι μέλλοντα ἀπὸ τῶν δηγμάτων τοῦ ὄφρος, ἅπερ εἰσὶν αἱ κακαὶ πράξεις, εἰδωλολατρεῖαι καὶ ἄλλαι ἀδικίαι. Ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο νοηθήσεται, δότε μοι λόγον ὅπου χάριν τὸν χαλκοῦν ὄφιν Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ σημείῳ ἔστησε . . .

on earth, and who, nevertheless, also through Moses caused the brazen serpent to be made in the desert and set up as a sign (ἐπὶ σημείον), a sign by which (δι' οὗ σημείου) those who had been bitten by serpents were saved? And yet God cannot be accused of injustice.

ch. 94, 2: For through that (sign) (διὰ τούτου), as I have already said (cf. ch. 91, 4), God proclaimed a mystery. He proclaimed that by this (δι' οὗ) He would destroy the power of the serpent which had also caused the sin of Adam, but bring salvation from the bites of the serpent – this means from evil deeds, idolatry and other sins – to all who believe in Him, who was to be killed by means of that sign, that is, the Cross (διὰ τοῦ σημείου τούτου, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ σταυροῦ).

ch. 94, 3: For if that was not the meaning, explain to me then why Moses set up the brazen serpent on a pole (ἐπὶ σημείου).

The polysemy of the word σημείον in this passage is clear. In:

ch. 94, 1: ἐπὶ σημείον ἔστησε has the meaning of 'to set up as a sign, a meaning which is stressed by the addition δι' οὗ σημείου: 'a sign by which'.

ch. 94, 2: Here the deeper significance (μυστήριον) of this sign is given:
a. διὰ τούτου (i.e. σημείου), δι' οὗ: the sign of the brazen serpent is a reference to the Cross.

b. διὰ τοῦ σημείου τούτου, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ σταυροῦ this sign is the Cross.

ch. 94, 3: ἐπὶ σημείου ἔστησε: in this quotation from Numbers 21, 9 σημείον has the meaning of 'pole'.

In ch. 94, 5 Justin returns to this point again: τὸ σημείον διὰ τοῦ χαλκοῦ ὄφεως, where σημείον has the general meaning of 'sign' or 'symbol'.

Dial. 112, 1–2 (p. 228): In this chapter Justin returns again to this same incident¹:

ch. 112, 1: Moses set up the brazen serpent on a pole (ἐπὶ σημείου τινός).

ch. 112, 2: 'Must we not view this as a symbol (σύμβολα)? Should we not link this pole with the image of Jesus on His cross?'

In both texts the word σημείον has the meaning of pole, in accordance with Numbers 21, 8 f. In ch. 112, 2, however, it also means a sign referring to Christ on the Cross.

Dial. 131, 4 (p. 253) Among the many benefactions shown by God to the people of Israel on their long journey from Egypt to Canaan, Justin

¹ Cf. (Μωυσῆς) . . . ὅφιν χαλκοῦν αὐτὸς ἐποίει καὶ στήσας ἐπὶ σημείου τινός ἐκέλευσεν εἰς αὐτὸν ὄραν τοὺς δεδηγμένους . . . Οὐ παραδεξόμεθα τὰ τοιαῦτα . . . σύμβολα; οὐχὶ δὲ ἀνοίσομεν ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ τὸ σημείον . . . ;

also mentions the brazen serpent ¹: 'And a sign (σημεῖον) of Him who was to be crucified, was, as I have already said (cf. ch. 91, 4 and ch. 94), also set up on account of the serpents which had bitten you'.

In the first place one is struck by the use of 'also' (καί). This may indicate that in the passage immediately preceding, namely the sweetening of the water of Marah (Ex. 15, 23 ff.), Justin also saw a σημεῖον of Him who was to be crucified.²

No less striking is the mentioning of these two instances immediately after each other: the first from Ex. 15, the second from Numb. 21. This is followed by Moses' attitude of prayer from Ex. 17.

In addition, immediately after the mention of the σημεῖον of the brazen serpent, Justin remarks: 'God has already given you all the mysteries before the appointed time'.

Especially in view of this last remark the meaning of σημεῖον seems here to be: a prefigurative sign.

I Apol. 60, 1-7 (p. 69): In his first Apology too Justin speaks of the brazen serpent, in connection with a passage from Plato's *Timaeus*, 8 (36 BC). He presents the argument as if, according to Plato, the Son of God is present in the universe in the form of a Greek Chi (= X). This is, according to Justin, based on Plato's wrongful interpretation of Numbers, 21, 4-9, the story of the brazen serpent.³

In speaking of the brazen serpent, however, Justin, when indicating the link between the brazen serpent and the Cross, does not use the word σημεῖον but the expression τύπος σταυροῦ (ch. 60, 3. 5). This expression could presumably be better understood by the pagan readers of his Apology than the term σημεῖον.

Summing-up: The word σημεῖον as used in connection with the Cross in Justin's Dialogue has many shades of meaning. It has the meaning of:

1. 'a referring sign' (general meaning) in ch. 90, 5; ch. 94, 1. 5; ch. 131, 4.
2. *in casu*, 'a sign referring to the Cross'; ch. 91, 4.
3. 'the Cross', in ch. 72, 1 (quotation); ch. 94, 2.
4. 'a pole', in connection with Numb. 21, 8f.; ch. 94, 3; ch. 112, 1-2.

¹ Καὶ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦσθαι μέλλοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄψεων τῶν δακόντων ὑμᾶς, ὡς προεῖπον, γεγένηται.

² Cf. also *Dial.* 86, 1.

³ We shall return to this passage of Justin in our first appendix, on p. 195 f.

The frequent use of *σημεῖον* in the passages dealing with the brazen serpent, especially in ch. 94, was certainly influenced by the text of Numbers 21, 8 f. according to the Septuagint.¹

4. Clement of Alexandria

Clement of Alexandria is also familiar with the term *σημεῖον* for the cross of Christ. It is striking, however, that neither in the *Protrepticus* nor in the *Paedagogus* nor in the first four Books of the *Stromata* the term *σημεῖον* is employed in this meaning. The first place where we find it so used is:

Strom. V, ch. 6, 35, 1 (II, p. 349): Speaking of the symbolic meaning of the golden lampstand in the temple of Jerusalem (cf. Ex. 25, 31-40), Clement says ²: 'The golden lampstand has yet another symbolic meaning (*αἰνιγμα*), that of the cross (*σημεῖον*) of Christ, not only on account of its shape (*σχῆμα*), but also because of the illumination of those who believe in Him, in many ways and under various forms (cf. Hebr. 1, 1)'.

It appears from the shape of the golden lampstand and from the other passages in Clement where *σημεῖον* has the meaning of 'the Cross', that this *σημεῖον* is intended here to refer to the cross of Christ.

Clement is the first to mention the golden lampstand as a symbol of the Cross, not only on account of its shape but also because of its function: the illumination of the faithful.³

In Hippolytus too ⁴ we find a similar metaphor: 'Formerly, under the Law, the Word was like a lamp hidden under a bushel (cf. Mt. 5, 15) . . . , but now He shines openly upon the Cross (*ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου*) as on a lampstand with seven branches'.

Strom. VI, ch. 11, 84, 3-4 (II, p. 473): In this passage Clement attributes a symbolic meaning to the number 318, the number of men that Abraham took to free his captured kinsman Lot (cf. Gen. 14, 14). The number 18 (10 + 8), written in Greek by the iota and the eta (ιη') symbolizes the name Jesus; the number 300, expressed in Greek by the

¹ It is noteworthy that Justin does not mention the Tau sign from Ez. 9, 4. 6, nor the sign of the cross.

In *Dial. 111, 4* (p. 228) the sign of blood (*σημεῖον*) from Ex. 12, 13 is mentioned. Justin, however, does not link it with the Cross.

² "Ἐχει δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο αἰνιγμα ἢ λυχνία ἢ χρυσὴ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐ τῷ σχήματι μόνω, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ φωτεμβολεῖν πολυτρόπως καὶ πολυμερῶς τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας.

³ Cf. J. DANÉLOU, *Message*, p. 221.

⁴ Hippolyte de Rome, *Sur les Bénédictiones d'Isaac, de Jacob* . . . in PO 27, p. 2.

letter tau (τ'), is by its shape a symbol of the Cross¹: 'For it is said (φασίν) that the character for 300 is by its shape a symbol (τύπος) of the cross of the Lord (τὸ κυριακὸν σημεῖον)'.

This symbolism is evidently not Clement's own. It is already found, indeed, in Ps. Barnabas 9, 8 (p. 21), an author whom Clement quotes repeatedly.² In any case he records this symbolism of numbers as being traditional.³

In 84, 4 Clement elaborates this symbolism further⁴: 'it is said that (by this) is indicated that by virtue of the Redemption they are kinsmen of Abraham, who have sought their refuge in τὸ σημεῖον and the Name (τὸ Ὄνομα) and so have gained the victory over those who wish to take prisoners and the very many unbelieving pagans who follow them'.

By τὸ κυριακὸν σημεῖον in 84, 3 Clement evidently means the cross of Christ, which he refers to in 84, 4 simply with τὸ σημεῖον. In neither of these passages does the context provide an indication for the use of σημεῖον.

Strom. VI, ch. 11, 87, 2 (II, p. 475): As an example of 'meaningful' measurements Clement points to Noah's Ark which was 300 cubits in length (cf. Gen. 6, 13)⁵: 'Some say that these 300 cubits are a symbol of the cross of the Lord (τὸ κυριακὸν σημεῖον)'. It is not clear who these 'some' may be, but given the strong predilection for numerical symbolism in Antiquity, it was inevitable that in Christendom the number 300 (= τ') would be linked with the cross of Christ on account

¹ Φασίν οὖν εἶναι τοῦ μὲν κυριακοῦ σημείου τύπον κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τριακοσιοστὸν στοιχεῖον.

² Among others: *Strom.* II, 31, 2; 35, 5; 67, 3, 84, 3; 116, 3-117, 2, *Strom.* V, 51, 1; 54, 4; 63, 1-5.

³ This tradition is also found in Ambrose, *De Fide* I, prol. 3 (CSEL 78, p. 5). 'Nam et Abraham trecentos decem et octo duxit ad bellum et ex innumeris quinque regum victicium turmarum subacto robore et ultus est proximum et filium meruit et triumphum'.

Ambrose also saw the same symbolic meaning in the number of bishops (viz. 318) present at the council of Nicea (*De Fide* I, 18, 121; ed. cit. p. 51): 'Non humana industria, non composito aliquo trecenti decem et octo ... episcopi ad concilium venerunt, sed ut in numero eorum per signum suae passionis et nominis Dominus Jesus suo se probaret adesse concilio: crux in trecentis, Jesu nomen in decem et octo est sacerdotibus'.

Cf. also Hilary, *Liber de Synodis*, 86 (PL 10, c. 538) and Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV, 12 (PG 67, c. 492).

⁴ ... μγνύεσθαι τοίνυν τοὺς Ἀβραάμ οικίους εἶναι κατὰ τὴν σωτηρίαν, τοὺς τῷ σημείῳ καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι προσπεφυγότας, κυρίους γεγονέναι τῶν αἰχμαλωτιζόντων καὶ τῶν τούτοις ἀκολουθούντων παμπόλλων ἀπίστων ἔθνων.

⁵ Εἰσι δ' οἱ τοὺς τριακοσίους πῆχεις σύμβολον τοῦ κυριακοῦ σημείου λέγουσι ...

of its shape.¹ Neither Ps. Barnabas nor Justin nor Irenaeus mention this symbolic interpretation of the length of the Ark. Justin² does associate Noah's Ark and the Cross, but not on account of the length. He bases his comparison on the similarity in material (ξύλον).

Although it is clear that τὸ κυριακὸν σημεῖον refers to the cross of Christ, there is once again no evident motive in the context for the use of the term σημεῖον.³

Strom. VII, ch. 12, 79, 5. 7 (III, p. 56f.): In this passage Clement quotes two sections of Lk. 14, 26f. 4): 'If you do not hate your father and mother, and even, indeed, your own life, and if you do not carry τὸ σημεῖον . . .' The bearing of the cross is rendered here by: τὸ σημεῖον βαστάζειν,⁵ and not as in Lk. 14, 27 by: τὸν σταυρὸν βαστάζειν. In view of this difference the question arises: does Clement by σημεῖον mean Christ's cross, or does he mean 'our cross' which we must bear in imitation of Christ? In view of the meaning of Lk. 14, 27 one first tends to think of 'our cross'. It is striking, however, that Clement renders the expression from Lk. 14, 26: 'his own life' (τὴν ψυχὴν ἑαυτοῦ) by τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν, which has the same meaning, but the expression from Lk. 14, 27: 'his own cross' (τὸν σταυρὸν ἑαυτοῦ) on the contrary by the vague expression: τὸ σημεῖον. Let us also consider 79, 7. Here Clement returns to this expression: 'To carry the cross (τὸ σημεῖον βαστάζειν) is to carry death within oneself (τὸν θάνατον περιφέρειν), because one detaches oneself from everything during life'. The expression: 'to carry death within oneself' appears to be influenced by 2 Cor. 4, 10: 'always carrying in the body the death of Jesus' (πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες). This already indicates a certain identification of the Christian with Christ. The meaning of σημεῖον becomes clearer, however, on comparison with the text of *Strom. II, 104, 3*.⁶ Here mention is made of the true Gnostic, the perfect follower of Christ: 'He follows the Lord', says Clement, 'carrying with him the cross of the Redeemer (τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος

¹ Cf. HUGO RAHNER, *Antenna Crucis V, Das mystische Tau*, in ZKTh 75 (1953) p. 385-410.

² *Dial.* 138, 2 (p. 260).

³ HUGO RAHNER, *art. cit.* p. 393 f. assumes that Clement was led to use σημεῖον in *Strom.* VI, ch. 11 under the influence of Ez. 9, 4. 6.

⁴ 'Εὰν μὴ μισήσητε τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, πρὸς ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ψυχὴν, καὶ ἂν μὴ τὸ σημεῖον βαστάσητε . . .

⁵ O STAHLIN, BKV 2. R. 20, München 1938, p. 83 translates: 'Und wenn ihr nicht das Kreuzeszeichen tragt'.

⁶ See p. 68.

περιφέρων)'. This text seems to us decisive on this point. The word σημειῶν refers to the cross of Christ. In this way Clement in this passage establishes a connection between the theme of 'carrying our cross', in the sense of imitating Christ as found in the Synoptics,¹ in Irenaeus² and in Tertullian,³ and the theme of 'our being united with Christ on the Cross' as formulated by Paul in Gal. 2, 19 (cf. Rom. 6, 6): 'I have been crucified with Christ (Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι)'.

Quis dives 8, 2 (III, p. 164f.): In this work too the word σημειῶν is used without further addition to refer to the cross of Christ⁴: 'If the Law of Moses', says Clement, 'had the power to grant eternal Life, then the coming and passion of the Redeemer are meaningless, Who for our sake traversed human life from birth to τὸ σημειῶν'. Here the meaning of σημειῶν is not in discussion. It is not clear, however, why Clement chose this term for the Cross.⁵

Excerpta 42-43 (III, p. 120): In the *Excerpta* we also find the word σημειῶν used on two occasions in the rendering of the Gnostic system of Theodotus:

ch. 42, 1-2⁶: 'The Cross (Σταυρός) is a sign (σημειῶν) of the Limit ("Ὅρος) in the Pleroma, for it divides the unfaithful from the faithful, as the Limit divides the world from the Pleroma. Therefore Jesus by that sign (διὰ τοῦ σημείου) carries the Seeds on His shoulders and leads them into the Pleroma'.⁷

¹ Mt. 10, 38, 16, 24; Mk. 8, 34, Lk. 9, 23, 14, 27.

² *Adv. Haer.* III, 19, 4 (II, p. 98). 'Si quis vult post me venire, neget se, et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me' (cf. Mt. 16, 24) Irenaeus applies this text to suffering and martyrdom in imitation of and as a testimony for Christ

³ *De anima* 55, 5 (p. 863). 'Agnosce itaque differentiam ethnici et fidelis in morte, si pro Deo occumbas, ut Paracletus monet, non in mollibus febribus et lectulis, sed in martyriis, si crucem tuam tollas et Dominum sequaris, ut ipse praecepit'. So also in *De idol.* 12, 2 (p. 1112). 'Si vis Domini discipulus esse, crucem tuam tollas et Dominum sequaris necesse est, id est, angustias et cruciatus tuos vel corpus solum, quod in modum crucis est'. Likewise in *De fuga* 7, 2 (p. 1145): 'Qui non tollit crucem suam et sequitur me, non potest meus esse discipulus'.

⁴ Εἰ γοῦν ἱκανὸς ἦν ὁ Μωυσέως νόμος ζωὴν αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν, μάτην μὲν ὁ Σωτὴρ αὐτὸς παραγίνεται καὶ πάσχει, δι' ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ γενέσεως μέχρι τοῦ σημείου τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα διατρέχων.

⁵ E. DINKLER, *Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz*, in JAC 5 (1962) p. 106, sees in the use of σημειῶν in Clement a transition in meaning from Cross to sign of the cross.

⁶ 'Ὁ Σταυρὸς τοῦ ἐν Πληρώματι Ὁροῦ σημειῶν ἐστίν· χωρίζει γὰρ τοὺς ἀπίστους τῶν πιστῶν ὡς ἐκεῖνος τὸν κόσμον τοῦ Πληρώματος. Διὸ καὶ τὰ σπέρματα ὁ Ἰησοῦς διὰ τοῦ σημείου ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων βαστάσας εἰσάγει εἰς τὸ Πλήρωμα . . .

⁷ The translation of these quotations is derived from R. P. CASEY, *The Excerpta ex Theodoto* (Studies and Documents I), London 1934, p. 69.

ch. 43, 1: 'So they say that those on the right knew the names of Jesus and Christ, even before the advent, but they did not know the power of the sign (τοῦ σημείου . . . τὴν δύναμιν)'.

Here too it is clear that σημεῖον refers to the cross of Christ. It is, however, difficult to determine in these passages to what extent the choice of words must be attributed to Clement and to what extent to Theodotus.²

Summing-up: Leaving the *Excerpta* out of consideration, we come to the following survey. Clement employs σημεῖον for Christ's cross:

1. qualified by τοῦ Χριστοῦ in *Strom.* V, 35, 1.
2. qualified by κυριακόν in *Strom.* VI, 84, 3; 87, 2.
3. without qualification in *Strom.* VI, 84, 4; VII, 79, 5. 7; *Quis dives* 8, 2.

If we compare with this the rare occurrence of σταυρός (3 times)³ and of ξύλον (6 times),⁴ it appears that σημεῖον (7 times) occurs most frequently.

What considerations led Clement to employ this term? In none of the instances quoted does the context provide a perceptible motive as it did with ξύλον.⁵ As we have already noted with reference to ξύλον, one gains the impression that Clement wished to avoid the word σταυρός. What then led him to choose σημεῖον instead? In this case too the explanation may probably be found in Clement's preference for an ambiguous use of words. The word σημεῖον, indeed, was extremely suitable for this. It could be understood in its general meaning of symbol or sign, but also in its more restricted meaning of the sign par excellence, the symbol of Christianity, the cross of Christ. This presupposes, however, that for Clement the Cross already possessed a symbolic value, and this we have noted already in Paul's use of the word σταυρός. The theory that the Cross was already considered as 'the sign' of Christ in Clement's time finds confirmation in the *Odes of Solomon*.⁶

¹ Λέγουσιν οὖν ὅτι αἱ δεξιαὶ ᾗδεσαν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας· ἀλλὰ τοῦ σημείου οὐκ ᾗδεσαν τὴν δύναμιν.

² Cf. F. SAGNARD, *Extraits de Théodote*, p. 8 ff.

J. QUASTEN, *op. cit.* II, p. 15.

³ See p. 67 f.

We have not counted the word σταυρός in the quotation from the *Kerygma Petri* (*Strom.* VI, 128, 1) and in the *Excerpta* 22, 4; 42, 1. 3, since the choice of words is probably not Clement's own.

⁴ See p. 69 ff.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Nowhere in the context have we found any indication that σημεῖον must be understood in the meaning of a cruciform *signatio*.

5. *The Odes of Solomon*

It is clear from the *Odes of Solomon* that, for the author, the Cross is 'the sign' of Christ. In proof of this we quote ¹:

Ode 27, 1-2 (II, p. 356):

- 1 I expanded my hands and I sanctified (them) to my Lord,
for the expansion of my hands is His sign;
- 2 And my expansion is the upright wood.

Ode 42, 1-2 (II, p. 403):

- 1 I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord,
for the stretching out of my hands is His sign;
- 2 And my expansion is the out-spread wood,
that was set up on the way of the Righteous One.

There can be no doubt that in *Ode 27, 1* and *Ode 42, 1* the author is referring to the Christian attitude of prayer and sees in this orante-position a symbol of the Cross. This cross symbolism is completed in *Ode 27, 2* by the addition: 'and my expansion is the upright wood' and in *Ode 42, 2* by: 'and my expansion is the out-spread wood, that was set up on the way of the Righteous One'.

In view of this obvious cross symbolism we think ourselves justified in stating that, for the author, the Cross is to be considered as 'the sign' of the Lord, in other words, as His sign. Starting with this assumption, we also find the Cross in *Ode 29, 7*:

Ode 29, 7 (II, p. 362f.):

- 1 The Lord is my hope,
in Him I shall not be confounded.
- 4 And He brought me up out of the depths of Sheol,
and from the mouth of death He drew me.
- 5 And I left my enemies low,
and He justified me by His grace.
- 6 For I believed in the Lord's Messiah,
and He appeared to me that He is the Lord.
- 7 And He showed me His sign,
and led me by His light.

Mention is made in this Ode of the setting free of the righteous from Sheol,² a Jewish-Christian Redemption theme.³ The Cross is applied to this *descensus ad inferos*.⁴

¹ See also p. 73 and p. 131 f.

² Cf. P. LUNDBERG, *op. cit.* p. 132.

³ Cf. J. DANÉLOU, *Judéo-Christianisme* p. 257-273.

⁴ Cf. *Evangelium Petri* 41 f., discussed on p. 76. Also the *Acta Pilati II* (Lat. B),

Conclusion: In *Ode* 27, 1 and *Ode* 42, 1 the symbolic meaning of 'His sign' is stressed by the cross position. In *Ode* 29, 7 'His sign' refers to the *crux gloriosa*. In this latter case too there is no perceptible motive, derived from the Old Testament, for the use of the term 'Sign' for Christ's cross.

6. Tertullian

It is remarkable that in Tertullian the term *signum* as a translation of the Greek *σημεῖον* for Christ's cross does not occur. This is all the more surprising since Tertullian, as we have already seen when discussing *lignum*,¹ borrowed from Justin not only many of his *testimonia crucis* but also the terms employed therein for the Cross. In the mention of the brazen serpent – the most important figure of the Cross in connection with the term *signum* (= *σημεῖον*) – there is, however, no evidence of any such docility. In the two passages in which Tertullian discusses the brazen serpent as a figure of the Cross,² he employs, not the expected *signo impositum*, but *ligno impositum*. He was familiar, however, with the use of *signum* in a meaning analogous to that of *σημεῖον* in Numb. 21, 8f. We mention merely the standards and banners of the army, the *signa*, which Tertullian considered as a cross symbol precisely on account of their shape.³

There are, nevertheless, two other passages which are worthy of mention in this connection, viz. *adv. Marc.* III, 22, 5 (p. 539) and *adv. Iud.* 11 (p. 138off.). Here for the first time in early Christian literature, Ezekiel 9, 4. 6: '*da signum Tau* (*adv. Iud.*: '*scribe Tau signum*') *in frontibus virorum ...*' is connected with the Cross: '*Ipsa est enim littera Graecorum Tau, nostra autem T, species crucis*'. In both passages, however, the main concern is not Christ's cross itself but the sign of the cross, prefigured in the Tau sign of Ezekiel. These texts will be discussed in the section which now follows dealing with the sign of the cross.⁴

10 (26): '... And the Lord set His cross in the midst of hell, which is the sign of victory; and it shall remain there for ever' (JAMES, p. 139).

¹ See p. 85 ff.

² *Adv. Marc.* III, 18, 7; *adv. Iud.* 10, 10.

³ Cf. *Ad. nat.* I, 12, 15; *Apol.* 16, 8.

See also our first appendix on p. 193.

⁴ See p. 148 ff.

7. Concluding remarks

In the passages from early Christian literature which we have discussed so far, the connection between the word *σημεῖον* and the cross of Christ is not always equally obvious.

In *Didache* 16, 6 the interpretation of the *σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως* as the *crux gloriosa* at the Parousia seems probable. Here, however, the emphasis is laid on *ἐκπέτασις* and not on *σημεῖον*.

In Ps. Barnabas 12, 5 and in Justin's *Dialogue* 94, 2 the meaning of Christ's cross can certainly be attributed to *σημεῖον*. The choice of the word *σημεῖον* was undoubtedly influenced by the word *σημεῖον* in Numbers 21, 8 f. This is particularly clear in Justin. For the use of *σημεῖον* for the cross of Christ in the so-called Ezra quotation (Justin, *Dial.* 72, 1) the context provides no sufficient motive.

Neither in Melito nor in Irenaeus do we find the term *σημεῖον* in connection with the Cross. In *adv. Haer.* IV, 4, 2, the only passage in which Irenaeus alludes to Numbers 21, 8f., in connection with John 3, 14, he employs the expression *in ligno martyrii*.¹

Clement of Alexandria employs *σημεῖον* for Christ's cross more frequently than *σταυρός* or even *ξύλον*, but there is no evidence in the context of any typological connection.

In the *Odes of Solomon* 'His sign' appears to refer to the Cross. In *Ode* 27, 1 and *Ode* 42, 1, however, it is the cross symbolism which is more strongly stressed. In *Ode* 29, 7 the *crux gloriosa* is intended, but here too it is not possible to recognize any allusion to an Old Testament text.

In Tertullian the word *signum* does not occur as a name for Christ's cross, but for the first time in early Christian literature a connection is made between the *signum Tau* from Ezekiel 9, 4. 6 and the sign of the cross. In the section on the sign of the cross which now follows we hope to make clear that *σημεῖον* and above all *signum* tended more and more to be reserved for the gesture of making the sign of the cross.

Apart from points of contact with Numbers 21, 8f. *σημεῖον* gained favour as a term for the Cross on account of its ambivalence, since it also comprised the general meaning of referring sign or symbol. We already find it employed in this sense in Justin, *Dial.* 94, 1 and it may be similarly interpreted in Clement of Alexandria and in the *Odes of Solomon*. The choice was here undoubtedly influenced by motives of a literary and aesthetic nature. The rare occurrence of *σταυρός* in Clement and the complete absence of the word 'cross' in the *Odes* give reason to assume that for these writers the term *σημεῖον* was also a sublimation of

¹ See p. 54 ff.

the harsh σταυρός. This, then, would imply, both for the milieu of Clement and for that of the Odes, that 'the sign' was understood as a reference to Christ's cross, which confirms our interpretation of Mt. 24, 30.

D. CROSS AND SIGN OF THE CROSS

In discussing σημεῖον as a term for Christ's cross, a peculiar problem arises. It appears from Patristic texts and Apocryphal writings that around the year 200 a new meaning of σημεῖον and *signum* is developing, namely that of the sign of the cross, denoting a cruciform *signatio*. This phenomenon seems too interesting to be omitted from our considerations, although we are hereby compelled to include in our research a number of texts from the first half of the third century.

We shall successively discuss the Patristic texts and the Apocryphal writings.¹

1. *Patristic Texts*

a. Tertullian

As we have already noted,² the word *signum* does not occur in Tertullian's *adversus Marcionem III* or his *adversus Iudaeos* either as a term for Christ's cross or for a type thereof. We do, however, find in Tertullian, and that for the first time in Patristic literature, the term *signum* and its derivatives: *signare*, *signatio*, *signaculum*, employed in connection with the gesture of making the sign of the cross. So in:

adv. Marc. III, 22, 5-7 (p. 539): Speaking of the suffering of Christ and the apostles, Tertullian points out that all the Christians, the apostles and after them all the faithful must suffer, to wit, all those who are signed with the sign of which Ezekiel has spoken³: 'Premising . . . and

¹ Cf E DINKLER, *Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz*, in JAC 5 (1962), p. 93-107.

F J DOLGER, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens* (quoted as *Kreuzzeichen*), from notes by DOLGER published posthumously by TH KLAUSER in JAC 1 (1958), p. 5-19, 2 (1959) p. 15-29, 3 (1960) p. 5-16, 4 (1961) p. 5-17, 5 (1962) p. 5-22.

K RENGSTORF, ThW VII, p. 207 ff s v σημεῖον

C VOGEL, *La signation dans l'Église des premiers siècles*, LMD 75 (1963) p. 37-51

² See p. 146

³ *Praemittens . . . et subiungens proinde passum Christum, aequae iustos eius eadem passuros, tam apostolos quam et deinceps omnes fideles, prophetavit, signatos illa nota scilicet, de qua Ezechiel "Dicit Dominus ad me "Pertransi medio portae in media Hierusalem et da signum Tau in frontibus vivorum" Ipsa est enim littera Graecorum Tau, nostra autem T, species crucis, quam portendebat futuram in frontibus nostris apud veram et catholicam Hierusalem . . .*

likewise subjoining the fact that Christ suffered, He (the Creator) foretold that His just ones should suffer equally with Him, both the apostles and all the faithful in succession, to wit, all those signed with that mark (*signatos illa nota scilicet*), of which Ezekiel spoke: "The Lord said unto me: Go through the gate, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set the mark Tau (*da signum Tau*) upon the foreheads of the men ... (Ez. 9, 4)". For that is the Greek letter Tau, and our T, the very form of the Cross (*species crucis*), which He predicted would be on our foreheads in the true and catholic Jerusalem'.¹

So the faithful in the *catholica* will be identified by this tau on their foreheads. That Marcion too was familiar with such a *signatio* is evident from what follows (22, 7)²: 'All these things are also found amongst you (*i.e.* Marcion): and the sign upon the forehead (*signaculum frontium*) and the sacraments of the Church and the offering of the pure sacrifice ...'

The important facts are: the Tau-sign of Ezekiel is named in a context where mention is made of the suffering of Christ, of the apostles and all the faithful; this Tau-sign is expressly linked with the Cross (*T, species crucis*); this crosslike sign is found upon the foreheads of all the faithful.³

adv. Iud. 11 (p. 138off.): The connection between the Ezekiel sign and the *passio Christi* is also clearly expressed in *adversus Iudaeos 11*. Here Tertullian quotes Ezekiel 9 as a prediction of the misfortune which harrasses the Jews already in this world and will strike them on the day of reckoning. Only those who are signed with the Tau-sign will be saved⁴: 'For it is for these deserts of yours that Ezekiel announced your ruin as about to come; and not only in this world – a ruin which has already befallen – but also in the day of retribution. From this ruin none will be freed but he who shall have been sealed (*obsignatus*) with

¹ Cf. for the shape of the Hebrew Taw: *Encyclopaedia Judaica* II, c. 403 ff (1928); F. J. DOLGER, *Kreuzzeichen* II, p. 15 ff

That the Greek Tau was viewed as cruciform appears, among others, from Lucian's *De iudicio vocalium* 12 (see p. 5), Ps. Barnabas 9, 8 and Clement of Alexandria's *Strom.* VI, ch. 11 (see p. 141 f.)

Cf. H. RAHNER, *Antenna crucis V, Das mystische Tau*, in *ZKTh* 75 (1953), p. 388

² *Quae omnia ... in te quoque (deprehenduntur), et signaculum frontium et ecclesiarum sacramenta et munditiae sacrificiorum ...*

³ Cf. E. DINKLER, *Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz*, p. 102 f

⁴ *Nam et pro istis meritis vestris cladem vestram futuram Ezechiel nuntiavit, et non solum in isto saeculo, quae iam evenit, sed et in die retributionis, quae subsequetur. Qua clade nemo liberabitur, nisi qui passione Christi, quam respiciatis, ... fuerit obsignatus.*

the passion of Christ (*passione* ¹ *Christi*) which you have rejected' Then in ch 11, 8 Tertullian quotes Ez 9, 4-6 ² After this quotation Tertullian continues (ch 11, 9) ³ 'The mystery of this sign was in various ways predicted' (a sign) on which Life for mankind was prepared, ⁴ (a sign) in which the Jews were not to believe, as Moses had already announced in *Exodus* (1), saying "thy Life shall be hanging on the tree (*in ligno*) before thine eyes, and thou shalt not trust thy Life (*Deut* 28, 66)"

In both *adv Marc* III, 22 and in *adv Iud* 11, the *signum* among the Christians which Tertullian thought to be already referred to in the Tau-sign from Ezekiel, is associated with the cross of Christ In detail, however, the text of *adversus Iudaeos* differs on several important points from that of *adversus Marcionem* In *adv Marc* III, 22, 6 the *catholica Hierusalem* refers in the first place to the community of the faithful here on earth who have to undergo the same sufferings as Christ and the apostles, in *adv Iud* 11, 1 the *signum Tau* is applied not only to life here on earth but is also viewed in connection with the *dies retributionis*, in other words, eschatologically, as a sign of salvation In addition, a *testimonium* of the Cross from the Old Testament, viz *Deut* 28, 66, is cited in elucidation of the *passione Christi obsignatus* The connection between *Deut* 28, 66 and the Cross is clarified even further by the addition *in ligno*

Meaning of the terms used, viz of *signare* – *signum Tau* – *signaculum frontium* – *passione Christi obsignari* – *hoc signum*, so far as this meaning may be deduced from the context

Signare: in the expression *signatos illa nota scilicet* (*adv Marc* III, 22, 5) In view of the addition *illa nota*, the meaning of *signare* appears to

¹ AEM KROYMANN-J BORLEFFS (in CC p 1381) give the reading *nisi qui passionem Christi, quam respiciatis, fuerit obsignatus* Their reading is based upon the *codices* T, P, F *Codex* N and the *editio princeps* of *Beatus Rhenanus*, Basel 1521, give *passione*

Cf for the textual history of Tertullian CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Tertullianus' Apologeticum en andere geschriften* (Monumenta Christiana III), Utrecht-Brussel 1951, p XLI ff

² The Scriptural quotation from Ezekiel 9, 4 shows in *adv Iud* 11, 8 a slight variation from that in *adv Marc* III, 22, 5 'Pass through the midst of Jerusalem, and write the sign Tau (*scribe Tau signum*) on the foreheads of the men'

³ *Huius autem signi sacramentum variis modis praedicatum est 'In quo vita hominibus praestruetur', 'in quo Iudaei non essent credituri', sicut Moyses ante nuntiavit in Exodo, dicens ' et erit vita tua pendens in ligno ante oculos tuos, et non credes vitae tuae'*

⁴ GOSTA SÄFLUND, *op cit* p 162 translates *praestruere* here 'die Voraussetzung für etwas schaffen'

be general: to mark with a sign, and not specifically Christian: to mark with the sign of the cross.

Signum Tau: The Hebrew text of Ez. 9, 4 has: 'Sign the taw upon the forehead'. Ezekiel meant the letter taw on account of its shape (\times or $+$). The Septuagint, however, probably as a clarification for its Greek readers, translated the word taw according to its meaning which is 'sign': δὸς τὸ ¹ σημεῖον i.e. 'give the sign'. Tertullian's translation: *da signum Tau* (*adv. Marc.*), *scribe signum Tau* (*adv. Iud.*) comes closer to the meaning of the Hebrew text.² In any case Tertullian meant the Greek Tau and the Roman T, in which he saw a reference to the Cross. This Tau sign, according to Tertullian's interpretation of Ezekiel's prophecy, is written upon the foreheads of all those who form part of the *catholica* (*adv. Marc.*). It will be a sign of salvation in this world and on the day of reckoning (*adv. Iud.*). This interpretation indicates that Tertullian saw this sign as something lasting and permanent; however, he does not give here a closer definition of this sign.

Signaculum frontium: The connection established by Tertullian with the Ezekiel text presupposes that the *signaculum frontium* (*adv. Marc.* III, 22, 7) in the *catholica* was cruciform (*species crucis*) and that it was of a lasting, permanent nature. It may be possible to define the meaning of this *signaculum* more closely by comparison with other texts from Tertullian still to be quoted.³

Obsignare passione Christi: The expression *passione Christi ... ob-signatus* (*adv. Iud.* II, 1) may to some extent be compared with the *signatos illa nota* already discussed. In contrast to *signare*, *obsignare* in profane usage⁴ usually has the meaning of 'to furnish with a seal' (literally or metaphorically). It is difficult to deduce from the context to what extent this meaning is still present here. Curious too is the expression: *passione Christi obsignatus*. Must this expression be taken as brachylogy for: *obsignatus signaculo/signo passionis Christi*? Or has *passio Christi* here the meaning of *crux Christi*, a development which we also note in *De oratione* 14 (p. 265)⁵: 'We, however, not only

¹ In *codex B* the definite article is missing; the reading 'give a sign' was an even more comprehensible translation for Greek readers.

² To what extent does Tertullian base himself here on the Septuagint and to what extent on other Greek translations? Aquila and Theodotion translate in Ez. 9, 4: σημειώσεις τὸ θαυ. (Cf. F. FIELD, *op. cit.* II, p. 791).

Cf. also GÖSTA SÄFLUND, *op. cit.* p. 142 ff.

³ BLAISE, *op. cit.* p. 758 s.v. *signaculum* translates here: 'signe de la Croix'.

⁴ CH. T. LEWIS-CH. SHORT, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1958, p. 1243 s.v. *obsigno*.

⁵ *Nos vero non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus (sc. manus) et Dominica passione modula(ta), tum et orantes confitemur Christo.*

raise our hands, we even stretch them out and by adopting the attitude of the suffering Lord (on the Cross) (*Dominica passione modulata*) we glorify Christ also while at prayer'. Here we have mention of the cruciform attitude of prayer, and *Dominica passione modulata* tends at least in meaning towards: 'to adopt the attitude of Christ on the Cross'.¹

Signum: The word *signum* in the expression: *huius signi sacramentum variis modis praedicatum est* refers to the *signaculum frontium* in the *catholica*, already predicted in Ez. 9, 4 and, according to Tertullian, also indicated in Deut. 28, 66: '*Et erit vita tua pendens in ligno*'. This *testimonium* of Christ on the Cross, employed here in connection with the sign of the cross, illustrates once again the close link which Tertullian saw between Cross and sign of the cross. As regards the meaning of *signum* itself: the addition of *hoc* (*hoc signum*) here permits the general meaning of 'sign'

The lasting character which, according to *adversus Marcionem* and *adversus Iudaeos*, is peculiar to this *signaculum frontium*, leads us to seek a closer definition of the *signaculum* in those texts of Tertullian which have to do with the ritual of initiation.

Signum and derived words in connection with the initiation

De baptismo: First of all we examined Tertullian's treatise on Baptism for the meaning of *signum* and words derived from it. The following texts seemed worthy of mention:

ch. 6, 1-2 (p. 282): In this passage Tertullian speaks of Baptism as *fides obsignata*²: 'Just as John, as precursor of the Lord prepared His paths, so does the angel, presiding over Baptism, make straight the way for the Holy Spirit who is to come, by the wiping away of sins. This wiping away (of sins) is obtained by the faith which is sealed (*fides obsignata*) in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost'.³ The *fides obsig-*

¹ ST W J TEEUWEN, *Sprachlicher Bedeutungswandel bei Tertullian*, Paderborn 1926, p. 75 translates the expression *Dominica passione modulata* 'die Haltung annehmen von Christus am Kreuze'.

G F DIERCKS, *Q S Fl Tertullianus' De oratione*, Bussum 1947, p. 25 translates 'de houding van de lydende Heer aannemen'.

See also our first appendix, on p. 189 f.

² *Sicut enim Iohannes antecursor Domini fuit praeeparans vias eius, ita et angelus baptismi arbiter superventuro Spiritui Sancto vias dirigit abolitione delictorum, quam fides impetrat obsignata in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto*.

³ Cf. for the translation of the quoted passages from *De baptismo*, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, *De spectaculis*, *De paenitentia* and *Ad uxorem CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, Tertullianus' Apologeticum en andere Geschriften, passim*.

nata which obtains the remission of sins, is on the one hand the profession of faith of the person baptized, and on the other hand the baptismal bath 'in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost' (allusion to the trinitarian baptismal formula)¹ In ch 6, 2 further light is thrown upon the content of the idea '*obsignare*'² 'If, indeed, every word of God is valid by three witnesses, how much more then every gift (referring to the gift of God which is Baptism) At the blessing we have the same Persons as witnesses (*arbitri*) of our faith and as guarantors (*sponsores*) of our salvation (i.e. the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost)' From this explanation it is clear that *obsignare* must be taken primarily in a juridical sense on the part of God the guarantee of salvation corresponds to the baptismal candidate's profession of faith before the three Witnesses The meaning of *obsignare* here must therefore be 'to guarantee (as with a seal)'³

In ch 7 (*ibid*) where the postbaptismal anointing is mentioned, we find only the term *unctio*

In ch 8, 2 (p 283) for the *manus impositio* reference is made to the blessing which Jacob pronounced over his grandsons Ephraim and Manasseh, whereby he crossed his hands (cf Gen 48, 13f),⁴ 'so that they, forming thus the name of Christ (*Christum deformantes*), should predict then already that one day all blessing would be through Christ' In this 'prophetic' gesture of the crossed hands Tertullian sees the X (the Greek Chi) symbolized as an indication of the name of Christ No reference is made to the Cross⁵

ch 13, 2 (p 289) Here mention is made of the *obsignatio baptismi* The context reads⁶ 'formerly, before the passion and resurrection of our Lord, man could only share in salvation through naked faith (*per fidem nudam*) But now that man must also believe in His birth, suffering and resurrection, a sealing by Baptism (*obsignatio baptismi*) is added to the extended profession of faith (*sacramentum*) This (sealing)

¹ Cf Mt 28, 19, Tertullian, *De baptismo* 13, 3, *Adversus Praxean*, 26, 9

² *Nam si in tribus testibus stabit omne verbum Dei, quanto magis donum? Habebimus (de) benedictione eosdem arbitros fidei quos et sponsores salutis*

³ Cf R F RIEOULE, *Tertullien, Traite du Baptême* (SC 35), Paris 1952, p 49 ff For the juridical terminology in ch 6, cf the footnote on p 75 of this work

⁴ . . . *ut Christum deformantes iam tunc portenderent benedictionem in Christo futuram*

⁵ Cf F J DOLGER, *Kreuzzeichen* III, in JAC 3 (1960) p 11

⁶ *Fuerat salus retro per fidem nudam ante Domini passionem et resurrectionem At ubi fides aucta est credentibus in nativitatem, passionem resurrectionemque eius, addita est ampliato sacramento obsignatio baptismi, vestimentum quodammodo fidei, quae retro erat nuda, nec potest iam sine sua lege*

is as the garment of faith that formerly was, as it were, naked but that now can no longer exist without the command (to baptize) which belongs to it (*sine sua lege*)' In the rest of ch 13 the necessity of Baptism on account of the *lex tingendi* is demonstrated ¹

In this context, unlike ch 6, 1-2, it is not the contract character of Baptism that is stressed The necessity of Baptism is not argued from the juridical viewpoint but from Christ's commandment, set down in the Scriptures If we compare, and at the same time combine, the expression *obsignatio baptismi* from ch 13, 2 with *fides obsignata* from ch 6, 1, then it is difficult to understand *obsignatio baptismi* as anything other than the sealing (of faith) which is Baptism ²

Neither of these texts from *De baptismo* gives any occasion to see in *fides obsignata* or in *obsignatio baptismi* a connection with the Cross or with the sign of the cross

Other works The expression *fides obsignata* recurs in *De idololatria* 12, 1 (p 1111) Here it gives the impression of being a fixed locution for 'becoming a Christian' ³ 'It is not right', says Tertullian, 'to plead the necessity of providing an existence worthy of a human being, when, after the sealing of our faith (*post fidem obsignatam*), we say I have nothing to live on (other than the cult of the idols)' The context, however, does not provide any evidence for assuming a more precise meaning

Along with *obsignatio baptismi* we have the expression *obsignatio fidei* in *De paenitentia* 6, 16 (p 331), said of the baptismal bath '*lavacrum illud obsignatio est fidei*'

In *De spectaculis* the expression *signaculum* is used three times in connection with baptism In ch 4, 1 (p 231) Tertullian writes ⁴ 'So that you should not think that I am quibbling, I shall now refer to the fundamental authority of our baptismal promise (*signaculi nostri*) For when, having entered the baptismal water, we profess our Christian faith in the prescribed terms, then we declare out of our own mouths that we renounce the devil, his idolatrous pomp and his angels' And in

¹ Tertullian refers, among others to Mt 28, 19, Jn 3, 5

² R F REFOULÉ, *op cit* p 86 points out the many juridical terms included also in this chapter

³ *Male nobis de necessitatibus humanae exhibitionis supplaudimus, si post fidem obsignatam dicimus non habeo, quo vivam*

⁴ *Ne quis argumentari nos putet, ad principalem auctoritatem convertar ipsius signaculi nostri Cum aquam ingressi Christianam fidem in legis suae verba profiteremur, renuntiassse nos diabolo et pompae et angelis eius ore nostro contestamur*

ch 24, 2-3 (p 248) ¹ 'These (namely the public games) must be the idolatrous pomp of the devil which we renounced at our baptismal vows (*in signaculo fidei*) . If, however, we renounce and (afterwards) break the baptismal vows (*signaculum*) by violating the declaration (*testatio*) . ' In these texts the emphasis is indeed placed strongly on the renunciation of the devil and on the profession of faith of the baptismal candidate, in other words, on the baptismal promise. The term *testatio* too indicates a declaration made. Thus, in these passages it is the candidate himself who seals, that is, confirms his faith at Baptism.

The use of *signaculum* and *obsignare* in *De pudicitia* 9, 11 and 9, 16 respectively is also worthy of mention. With a metaphor, derived from the parable of the prodigal son (esp Lk 15, 22), Tertullian asserts in ch 9, 11 (p 1298) that the Grace which we have received in Baptism, once lost, can never be regained. For if that is possible ² 'then shall the apostate too regain the former garment, the raiment of the Holy Ghost, and the ring, the seal of the baptismal bath (*signaculum lavacri*), and Christ will be immolated for him anew'.

If we compare the expression *signaculum lavacri* with that from *De paen* 6, 16 (already quoted) *lavacrum illud obsignatio est fidei*, then we are left with the impression that here too *signaculum lavacri* is primarily the baptismal bath, an expression which is completely in accord with the well known text from Hermas' *Sim* IX, 16, 4 (p 90) ἡ σφραγὶς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν ³ This appears to be the meaning of *signaculum*, despite the fact that in *De Pudicitia* 9, 16 (*ibid*) Tertullian attributes a different significance to the metaphor of the *anulus*. Speaking of a pagan who is converted to God Tertullian says ⁴ 'He shall remember God, his Father, after making satisfaction he returns, receives the former garment, that is, that condition which Adam had lost through his offence. Then too he receives for the first time the ring with which, in answer to the questions, he seals (*obsignat*) the pact of faith (*fidei pactio*)'. Here the profession of faith of the baptismal candidate is seen

¹ .. *Hoc erit pompa diaboli, adversus quam in signaculo fidei eieramus. Ceterum, si nos eieramus et rescindimus signaculum, rescindendo testationem eius,*

² *recuperabit igitur et apostata vestem priorem, indumentum Spiritus Sancti, et anulum denuo, signaculum lavacri, et rursus illi mactabitur Christus*

³ Cf Hermas, *Sim* VIII, 6, 3 (p 71)

⁴ *Recordatur Patris Dei, satisfacto reddit, vestem pristinam recipit, statum scilicet eum, quem Adam transgressus amiserat. Anulum quoque tunc accipit primum, quo fidei pactionem interrogatus obsignat, atque ita exinde opimitate Domini corporis vescitur, eucharistia scilicet*

as the seal with which he seals, that is, confirms, his faith (cf. *De spect.* 24, 2-3). It would appear from the context that in this case the *obsignatio* is an act performed by the candidate himself. This again is in contrast to *De praescriptione Haereticorum* 36, 5 (p. 237) where it is the Church who seals 'with water': '*Eam (fidem) aqua signat (sc. Ecclesia), Sancto Spiritu vestit, Eucharistia pascit*'.

The text, however, which leads us once again in the direction of the *signaculum frontium* from *adv. Marc.* III, 22, 7 is found in *De praescr.* 40, 2-4 (p. 220) ¹: 'The devil', says Tertullian, 'perverts truth and imitates the acts of the holy sacraments in his pagan mysteries. He too baptizes certain people, naturally his faithful and supporters; he promises forgiveness of sins as a result of the baptismal bath (*de lavacro*) and if I now mention Mithras too, on that occasion he signs his soldiers upon the forehead (*signat illic in frontibus milites suos*)'.

Here Tertullian distinguishes the baptismal bath from the *signatio in fronte*, as initiatory rites in pagan mysteries, it is true, but none the less as imitations of the 'acts of the holy sacraments'. This of necessity implies that in the *catholica* too a *signatio frontis* formed part of the ritual of initiation.²

The only text which provides us with any direct information concerning this *signatio* as a part of the initiation ritual is a passage from *De carnis resurrectione* 8, 3 (p. 931), in which at the same time the unity of soul and body is emphasized ³: 'The body is washed, so that the soul may be purified from stains; the body is anointed, so that the soul may be consecrated to God, the body is signed, so that the soul too may be fortified (*caro signatur, ut et anima muniatur*)'. Besides the washing and the anointing, the *signatio* as part of the initiatory ceremonies can scarcely be anything else than the *signaculum frontis*. That in this case *signare* probably has the meaning of 'to sign someone with the sign of the cross', will be evident from what follows'.⁴

Three texts in which Tertullian employs the word *signum* to allude to enlistment in the *militia Christi* deserve to be mentioned here:

¹ ... cuius (sc. diaboli) sunt partes intervertendi veritatem, qui ipsas quoque res sacramentorum divinatorum idolorum mysteriis aemulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam utique credentes et fideles suos; expositionem delictorum de lavacro repromittit. Et si adhuc memini Mithrae, signat illic in frontibus milites suos.

² Cf. F. J. DÖLGER, *Die Sphragis der Mithrasmysterien. Eine Erläuterung zu Tertullians De praescriptione haereticorum* 40, AC I (1929) p. 88 ff.

³ ... caro abluitur, ut anima emaculetur; caro unguitur, ut anima consecretur; caro signatur, ut (et) anima muniatur.

⁴ E. EVANS remarks in *Tertullian's treatise on the Resurrection* (SPCK), London 1960, p. 220: 'Caro signatur ... evidently refers to a signing with the cross'.

De cor. 11, 3-4 (p. 1056f.): In *De corona* 11 he speaks of the incompatibility of the *militia Christi* with that of this world. Tertullian, however, distinguishes two cases: a pagan who is already in military service and then becomes converted to Christ; Tertullian advises him what course of action to take (ch. 11, 4) after his conversion (*suscepta fide et signata*). Tertullian also deals with the case of a Christian who enters military service (ch. 11, 3)¹: 'Shall he carry a banner (*vexillum*) that is in conflict with Christ? And shall he ask his commander for a *signum* which he had already received from God? And shall he after his death be disturbed by the trumpet of the trumpeter, who expects to be awakened by the trumpet of the angel?'

The term *signum* is here undoubtedly used ambiguously²: on the one hand for the *signum principis* and on the other for the *signum Dei*. We may assume with J. IJsebaert³ that for the Africa of the third century A.D. this *signum principis* must be seen as a small metal plaque (*tessera*) which is hung around the recruit's neck at his enlistment. If then the parallelism of *signum* is intended to be significant, as we may well suppose, the *signum Dei* must be a visible mark which we receive at our enlistment in the *militia Christi*, in other words, at the initiation. In any case the interpretation of *signum* as 'watchword'⁴ appears to be lacking in significance in this context.

¹ *Vexillum ... portabit aemulum Christi? Et signum postulabit a principe, qui iam a Deo accepit? Mortuus etiam tuba inquietabitur aeneatoris, qui excitari a tuba angeli expectat?*

² Cf. the ambiguous use of *statio* in *De corona* 11, 3 (p. 1056). *Iam et stationes aut alius magis faciet quam Christo aut et dominica die, quando nec Christo. Statio* refers on the one hand to standing guard as a soldier and on the other to a particular practice of prayer and fasting among the Christians

Cf. CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Statio* in VC 7 (1953), p. 221 ff.

³ J. IJSEBAERT, *Greek baptismal terminology Its origins and early development* (GCP 1), Nijmegen 1962, p. 215 bases his argument principally on the *Acta Maximiliani*, martyred in Numidia, probably in 295 A.D. (further literature on this subject is to be found in J. IJSEBAERT, *loc. cit.* in footnote). The passage in question, *Acta Maximiliani*, 2 (KNOPF-KRUGER, *op. cit.* p. 86), a conversation between the proconsul Dion and Maximilian who refused to serve as a soldier because he was a Christian, reads: '*Dion ad Maximilianum: milita et accipe signaculum Respondit: non accipio signaculum, iam habeo signum Christi, Dei mei ... Dion ad officium dixit: signetur. Cumque reluctaret, respondit. non accipio signaculum saeculi et, si signaveris, rumpo illud, quia nihil valet. Ego Christianus sum, non licet mihi plumbum collo portare post signum salutare Domini mei Jesu Christi*'.

Cf. also J. IJSEBAERT, *op. cit.* p. 422 and F. J. DOLGER, *Sacramentum militiae*, AC 2 (1930), p. 268 ff

⁴ KELLNER-ESSER, BKV 24, p. 253 translate here *signum* as 'die Losung' (= watchword).

De orat. 29, 3 (p. 274): If our interpretation of *signum* in *De corona* is correct, the meaning of *signum* in *De oratione* 29, 3 may be better understood¹: 'In the armour of prayer', says Tertullian, 'let us guard the *signum nostri imperatoris*, let us await in prayer the trumpet of the angel'. Here too we are faced with an ambiguous use of words; here too Tertullian alludes to the *signum* that we have received at our admission into the service of Christ.²

De idol. 19, 2 (p. 1120): In this passage too we may assume an ambiguous use of words³: 'They do not go together, the oath of allegiance (*sacramentum*) to God and that to a man, the *signum Christi* and the *signum diaboli*, the camp of light and that of darkness'.

We find confirmation of this assumption in Cyprian, *Ad Donatum* 15 (p. 15), where we again have the metaphor of the *signare* linked with the *militia caelestis*: '*Tu tantum, quem iam spiritalibus castris caelestis militia signavit, tene incorruptam, tene sobriam religiosis virtutibus disciplinam*'.

Conclusions: Having considered in their context and compared *signum* and derivatives as terms in connection with initiation in Tertullian, with an eye to our own research we may state the following:

1. The use of *signum* and its derivatives in connection with initiation is influenced:

- a. by the general use of the term σφραγίς for initiation,⁴ already known from Hermas,⁵ 2 Clement⁶ and Irenaeus' *Demonstratio*.⁷ The Greek σφραγίς is rendered in Latin not only by *obsignatio*, but also by *signaculum*.

So also EDWIN A. QUAIN, *Tertullian, disciplinary, moral and ascetical works* (The Fathers of the Church, vol. 40), p. 256.

¹ *Sub armis orationis signum nostri imperatoris custodiamus, tubam angeli expectemus orantes.*

² G. F. DIERCKS, *op. cit.* p. 49 translates *signum nostri imperatoris* as 'the banner of our general' and gives in his commentary on p. 290 the elucidation: '*signum*: (battle) sign. This may, however, conceal a play upon words with *signum* = Cross'.

ERIK PETERSON, *Das Kreuz und das Gebet nach Osten*, in *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis*, Rome 1959, p. 29 f. here associates the word *signum* with the Parousia.

³ *Non convenit sacramento divino et humano, signo Christi et signo diaboli, castris lucis et castris tenebrarum.*

⁴ Cf. F. J. DÖLGER, *Sphragis. Eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung in ihren Beziehungen zur profanen und religiösen Kultur des Altertums*, Paderborn 1911, esp. p. 70–80 (witnesses up to the beginning of the third century).

⁵ Cf. *Sim.* VIII, 6, 3 (p. 71); IX, 16, 4 (p. 90).

⁶ Cf. 2 *Clem.* 7, 6 (p. 74); 8, 6 (p. 75).

⁷ *Dem.* 3 (p. 49); 100 (p. 109).

- b. by Tertullian's juridical vision of the ritual of initiation. He saw this either as a contract to which God himself, operating through His Church, attaches His seal, or as an official confirmation, now on the part of the baptismal candidate, of his faith, by the renunciation of the devil and the profession of faith. Tertullian emphasizes now one aspect then the other. In both cases, however, the term *signum* and its derivatives may be connected with 'seal'.²
2. In the expressions '*signat in frontibus*' (*De praescr.* 40, 4) and *caro signatur*' (*De carn. res.* 8, 3) the term '*signare*' refers to a detail of the initiation ceremonies, namely to the *signatio frontis*, to which Tertullian probably also alludes in his interpretation of the *signaculum frontium* from Ez. 9, 4.
3. In the *signum Tau* from the Ezekiel text, the Latin *signum* corresponds to the Greek σημεῖον. On the other hand it appears that the Greek σφραγίς and the Latin *signaculum* or *signum* were, from the third century onwards, increasingly reserved as initiation terms for

¹ An interesting example of the use of *signum* in the meaning of seal in Roman popular speech of the second half of the third century B.C. is offered by Plautus' *Amphitruo* (lines 420-422 and 773-775).

420-422 *Sosia Ubi patera nunc est? Mercurius (Est) in cistula, | Amphitruonis opsignata signo est. So Signum quid dic est? | Me Cum quadrigis sol exoriens*

773-775 *So An etiam credis id, quae in hac cistellula | tuo signo opsignata fertur? Amphitruo. Salvom signum est? So Inspice | Am Recte, ita est ut opsignavi*

The cultivated language also offers examples. So, for instance, Cicero, in *Verrem* II, 1 (117) '*Si de hereditate ambigetur et tabulae testamenti obsignatae non minus multis signis quam e lege oportet ad me proferentur,*'

It is noteworthy that in both instances the verb *obsignare* is employed along with *signum*.

² We think it possible to detect this shifting of accent already in Irenaeus' *Demonstratio*. So in ch. 3 (p. 49). First of all, it (the Faith) admonishes us to remember that we have received Baptism for remission of sins in the name of God the Father, and in the name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became incarnate and died and was raised, and in the Holy Spirit of God, and that this Baptism is the seal of eternal Life and is rebirth unto God. In this context 'the seal' is something received, something which comes from God. In ch. 100 (p. 109), on the other hand, in 'our seal' the emphasis is placed on the profession of faith of the person being baptized. 'So error with respect to the three articles of our seal has brought about much wandering away from the truth. For either they despise the Father or they do not accept the Son, they speak against the dispensation of His incarnation, or they do not accept the Spirit, that is, they reject prophecy.'

Compare the threefold profession of faith (the three articles) corresponding to the triple immersion, in Hippolytus, *Traditio apostolica* 21.

the post-baptismal *signatio* ¹ Viewed from the Latin, therefore, it is not obvious whether *signum* (this also holds good, although to a lesser extent, for *signaculum*) corresponds to σημεῖον or to σφραγίς ² However, if we consider the testimony of second century writers and also Tertullian's own juridical viewpoint, then the term *signum* and its derivatives are more likely to correspond to σφραγίς in those places in Tertullian's works where this term is used in connection with the initiation

- 4 In none of the *signum* texts quoted in connection with the initiation can we detect a clear reference to the Cross or to a cruciform *signatio*

Signum and derived words in connection with the sign of the cross

In Patristic literature Tertullian is the first to mention the custom prevailing among Christians of making the sign of the cross. For this too he uses words derived from *signum*. This custom is mentioned in a work from his orthodox and in a work from his Montanist periods.

Ad ux II, 5, 2 (p. 389): Tertullian gives as one of his objections to the marriage of a Christian and an unbeliever ³ 'Will it remain unnoticed when you make the sign of the cross over your bed, over your body (*cum lectulum, cum corpusculum tuum signas*)?' This presupposes a custom existing among Christians of making the sign of the cross.

Ad ux II, 8, 8 (p. 393 f): In this passage Tertullian says of Christian marriage ⁴ 'which is contracted before the Church, which is confirmed by the sacrifice and sealed by the blessing' (II, 8, 6) 'They are both present together in the Church of God, they participate together in the Lord's table . . . The one keeps nothing secret from the other, the one does not avoid the other, the one is not a burden to the other . . . They have no need to make the sign of the cross secretly (*non furtiva signatio*)' Here too we have evidence of the existence of a practice of making the sign of the cross.

¹ Cf. F. J. DOLGER, *Sphragis*, ch. IV. Die Entwicklung des Sphragisnamens vom dritten Jahrhundert an (p. 171-193).

² The word *signaculum* also occurs in Tertullian in the meaning of 'distinguishing mark'. So, for instance, in *Ad nat II*, 5, 5 (p. 48) *Item sidera, signacula quaedam temporum ad rurationem notandorum*.

³ *Latebrisne tu, cum lectulum, cum corpusculum tuum signas?*

⁴ (*matrimonium*) *quod ecclesia conciliat et confirmat oblatio et obsignat benedictio. In ecclesia Dei pariter utrique, pariter in convivio Dei. Neuter alterum celat, neuter alterum vitat, neuter alteri gravis est. Non furtiva signatio . . .*

When is the sign of the cross made? On this subject we read in:

De cor. 3, 4 (p. 1043) ¹: 'At every going out, at every beginning and end,² on dressing, at the putting on of shoes, on taking a bath, on going to table, at the lighting of the lamps, on going to bed, on sitting down, at any occupation whatsoever, we make the sign of the cross ³ upon our foreheads (*frontem signaculo terimus*)'.

That this practice is based, not on the Scriptures, but on tradition, is expressly stated by Tertullian immediately after his digression on the practice of the sign of the cross (*De cor.* 4, 1; *ibid.*) ⁴: 'If you should seek a prescript from the Scriptures for this and other, similar practices, then there is none to be found. Tradition will be held up to you as the origin, custom as the strengthener and faith as the observer'. Since Tertullian, like Basil after him,⁵ expressly states that this practice is not based on the Scriptures, we take this as a fresh indication that by the *signaculum frontium* of *adv. Marc.* III, 22, 7 Tertullian refers not to the custom of making the sign of the cross but to the *signatio* at the initiation.

The terms for the practice of making the sign of the cross in Tertullian: *signare* (*Ad ux.* II, 5, 2), *signatio* (II, 8, 8), and *signaculum* (*De cor.* 3, 4) show a great similarity to the terms of the initiation ritual. This similarity in its turn leads us to the following conclusion:

From the use of *signare* and *signaculum* both for the making of the sign of the cross and for the *signatio* at the initiation, it may be deduced that the *signatio* at the initiation was also cruciform. This is confirmed by the cruciform *signatio* referred to in *adv. Marc.* III, 22, 5-7 (cf. *adv. Iud.* II, 1. 8. 9), which, in view of its permanent character,

¹ *Ad omnem progressum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum, ad vestitum, ad calciatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacumque nos conversatio exercet, frontem signaculo terimus.*

² With CYRILLE VOGEL, *art. cit.* p. 38 we give preference to this translation of *aditus et exitus*. In *Scorpice* 10, 14 (p. 1089) Tertullian gives the following explanation of the linking of these two words: '*aditum et exitum, id est, initium finemque*'.

³ *Codex N* and the editions R³ (RHENANUS, third impression, Paris 1539) and B (MESNAERT, Paris 1545) give the variant: *signaculum crucis*.

⁴ *Harum et aliarum eiusmodi disciplinarum, si legem expostules Scripturam, nullam leges. Traditio tibi praetenditur auctrix et consuetudo confirmatrix et fides observatrix.*

⁵ Basil too expressly states in his *Liber de Spiritu Sancto*, 27 (PG 32, c. 188) that the general custom of making the sign of the cross (ἡ ἑὴν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ σταυροῦ κατασημαίνεσθαι), and also the orientation during prayer, does not go back to the Scriptures, but to tradition.

must indeed be intended as a reference to the *signatio* at the initiation.¹

It is precisely because the data concerning the connection between the practice of making the sign of the cross and the *signatio* at the initiation are missing in Tertullian that we have included in this research the Church Fathers of the first half of the third century: Cyprian, Hippolytus and Origen.

b. Cyprian

Like Tertullian Cyprian is a witness of the Church in Africa.

Test. I, 8 (p. 45f.): In his *Testimonia* Cyprian contrasts with the limited character of the *circumcisio prima carnalis* the universal character of the *circumcisio secunda spiritalis*. One of his arguments is that 'the seal of circumcision (*signaculum illud*) was of no benefit to women, but that (now) all are signed with the sign of the Lord (*signo Domini omnes signantur*)'. In view of the theme: circumcision according to the Spirit contrasted with circumcision according to the flesh, it is evident that contrasted with the *signaculum* of circumcision (cf. Rom. 4, 11), the meaning of the *signo Domini signari* must be sought in Christian initiation. Was Cyprian with this expression alluding to initiation in general or more in particular to the *signatio* as a detail of the ritual? The answer to this question may be found in *ad Demetrianum*.

Ad Dem. 22 (p. 366f.): Speaking of the conflagration on the day of judgment, Cyprian says: 'that only they shall escape who are reborn (*renati*) and signed with the sign of Christ (*signo Christi signati*), God says in another place'. Cyprian then goes on to quote Ez. 9, 4, 6: '*Transi mediam Hierusalem et notabis signum ...*'. On the one hand Cyprian clearly distinguishes the *renasci* (cf. Jn. 3, 5) from the *signo Christi signari*, while on the other hand their association in this context indicates that the *signo Christi signari* also belongs to the initiation ritual. Since *signo Christi signari* corresponds to the *signo Domini signari* from *Test. I*, 8, we may rightly assume that *signo Domini signari* too is a name for the *signatio* at the initiation.

Cyprian confirms in addition the assumption already made with reference to Tertullian, namely that Ez. 9, 4 must be viewed in connection with the *signatio* at the initiation. Tertullian saw the

¹ Cf. E. DINKLER, *Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz*, p. 104: 'Es ist kein Zweifel dass Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* III, 22, 5-7) auf das Taufsiegel als Kreuzzeichen hinweist und eine Stirnsignierung in dieser Form voraussetzt'.

signatio referred to by Ezekiel as cruciform (*signum Tau . . . , species crucis*). Cyprian, who expressly links Ez. 9, 4 with the initiation, speaks of the *signari signo Christi*. That he too makes a connection between this *signum Christi* and the Passion, appears from the following sentence (*ibid.*): '*Et quod ad passionem et sanguinem Christi pertineat hoc signum . . .*' Then, in order to prove that everyone signed with this sign will be spared, Cyprian recalls the sign of blood (*sanguis in signo*) from Ex. 12, 13, smeared on the doorposts of the houses of the Jews in Egypt. Cyprian here, it is true, does not refer directly to the Cross, but to the blood of the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb, the great type of Christ's sacrifice. He stresses the typological significance of the Jewish Paschal lamb in the following words: '*Quod ante occiso agno praecedat in imagine, impletur in Christo secuta postmodum veritate (ibid.)*'.

Cyprian sees the *sanguis et signum Christi* as the fulfilment of the *sanguis et signum agni*¹: 'Just as at that time, when Egypt was stricken, the Jewish people could only escape through the blood and the sign of the lamb (*sanguine et signo agni*), so also, when the world shall be stricken by destruction, only he will escape who is signed with the blood and the sign of Christ (*sanguine et signo Christi*)'. The parallelism of *sanguis et signum agni* and *sanguis et signum Christi* conjures up first of all with *signum Christi* the sign of Christ placed upon the baptized, but at the same time, as Cyprian expressly states (*ibid.*), it denotes the *passio Christi*. To our mind this can only be understood if this *signum Christi* is cruciform. In this case, the meaning of *signo Christi signari* is to be signed with the sign of the cross.

Epist. 73, 9 (p. 785): This text too implies the distinction and at the same time the connection between the *renasci* and the *signari*. Moreover, the fact clearly emerges that Cyprian is referring to a post-baptismal *signatio*. With reference to the imposition of hands by Peter and John at Samaria (Acts 8, 14ff.), Cyprian remarks: 'This also occurs now among us, that those who are baptized in the Church, are brought before the leaders (*praepositi*) of the Church, and through our prayer and our imposition of hands receive the Holy Ghost and the seal of the Lord, which is a completion of their initiation (*signaculo Dominico consummentur*).² Noteworthy in this passage is the use of *signaculum* in

¹ In Ex. 12, 13, a text which Cyprian quotes here in the Septuagint version, is written: ἔσται τὸ αἷμα ἐν σημεῖω. Probably in order to give the word *signum* more prominence here Cyprian uses it as if the text has: '*sanguis et signum*'.

² This translation is taken from CHAN. BAYARD, *Cyprien, Correspondance II*, Paris 1961², p. 267: 'le sceau du Seigneur, qui consomme leur initiation'.

place of *signum* although the reference is evidently to the same act in the initiation ritual as in *Ad Dem.* 22. This is confirmed, moreover, by *Epist.* 73, 6 (p. 783): 'If it were possible for anyone to be baptized outside (the Church) according to a false religious opinion, and to obtain forgiveness of sins, then he would also be able to receive the Holy Ghost according to this same religious conviction, and then it is not necessary that he should come (to us) and receive the imposition of hands in order to receive the Holy Ghost and to be signed (*ut ... signetur*)'.¹ Here *signari* is essentially the same as *signaculo Dominico consummari*. It is possible that in *signaculo Dominico consummari* the metaphor of 'to close something as with a seal' is still implied. Just as by the word *signaculum*, this metaphor, so frequent in connection with the initiation, is possibly suggested by *consummari*, which clearly indicates a 'closing off'.²

Besides the texts in which *signare*, *signum* and *signaculum* are employed in connection with the initiation, there also exist a few in which *signum* has a more direct association with the Cross.

In *Test.* II, 21 (p. 89) Cyprian quotes under the title: '*Quod in passione crucis et signo virtus omnis sit et potestas*':

1. Hab. 3, 3f.: '*... cornua in manibus eius erunt. Et illic constabilita est virtus gloriae eius*'.
2. Is. 9, 5: '*Ecce natus est vobis puer, datus est nobis filius, cuius imperium super humerum eius*'.
3. Ex. 17, 8ff. Cyprian then continues: '*Hoc signo crucis et Amalech victus est ab Jesu per Moysen*'.

¹ BAYARD, *op. cit.* p. 266 translates here: 'pour qu'il reçoive l'Esprit et soit confirmé'. In our opinion, however, *signari* had for Cyprian the meaning of 'to be signed' (with the sign of the cross).

² BLAISE, *op. cit.* p. 211 s.v. *consummo*, gives with reference to this place the meaning 'consacrer'. In support of our proposed translation of 'closing off' with the additional meaning of 'to complete' we refer to Ps. Cyprian, *De rebaptismate* 1 (CSEL 3, 3, p. 69): According to an old tradition in the Church, says the writer, those who have been baptized in *haeresi* and who are afterwards converted, need not be baptized again, but: '*tantummodo imponi eis manum ab episcopo ad accipiendum Spiritum Sanctum sufficeret et haec manus impositio signum fidei iteratum atque consummatum (= complete) eis praestaret*'. So also in Rufinus' translation of Eusebius' *Hist. Eccl.* VI, 43, 15 (Eusebius II, 2, p. 621), where in a letter from Cornelius of Rome to Fabian of Antioch, the subject of Novatian is mentioned. Novatian, having been baptized during an illness, considered the ceremonial additions unnecessary after his recovery: '*Nec reliqua in eo quae baptismum subsequi solent, sollemniter adimpleta (sunt), nec signaculo chrismatis consummatus (est)*'. This appears to be Rufinus' rendering of Eusebius' σφραγισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου (*ibid.*, p. 620).

Cf. IV Macc. 7, 15: the seal of death closes the life of Eleazar ((ὁν πιστὴ θανάτου σφραγὶς ἐτελείωσεν).

Cf. J. IJSEBAERT, *op. cit.* p. 249 f.

The expression *in passione (crucis)* which occurs in the title, can hardly be misunderstood. The addition '*et (in) signo crucis*' is not so clear. The three *testimonia* quoted: two predictions and one figure, apply to the *passio crucis*. If we assume that by *signum crucis* Cyprian meant something different from *passio crucis*, then *signum* here must refer to Moses' attitude of prayer as a symbol of Christ's position on the Cross, mentioned in the third *testimonium*: '*Hoc signo crucis et Amalech victus est ab Jesu per Moysen*'. For the meaning of *signum* in this third *testimonium*, which is employed of a figure of the *passio crucis*, should be: a sign having reference to the Cross.

Ad. Fort. 8 (p. 330): The word *signum* has the same meaning in *Ad Fortunatum*, where Cyprian writes: 'The example of perseverance ... is also shown in *Exodus*, where in order to conquer Amalek, Moses ... held up his hands as a symbol of the Cross with a prefigurative significance (*in signo et sacramento crucis*); and he could only conquer the enemy while he persevered ... in keeping his hands raised as a symbol (*in signo*). The meaning of *signum et sacramentum* seems here to be: a prefigurative symbol (sign).¹

But Cyprian also sees a connection between this symbolic attitude of prayer and the cruciform *signatio*. This appears from the title and Scriptural quotations of *Test. II, 22*:

Test. II, 22 (p. 90): '*Quod in hoc signo crucis salus sit omnibus qui in frontibus notentur*'. Under this title the following *testimonia* are given:

1. Ez. 9, 4: '*... notabis signum super frontem virorum*'.
- Ez. 9, 6: '*Omnem autem, super quem signum scriptum est, ne tetigeritis*'.
2. Ex. 12, 13: '*Et erit sanguis in signo vobis super domos*'.
3. Rev. 14, 1: '*Et vidi et ecce agnum ... , et cum eo centum quadraginta quattuor milia habentes nomen eius et nomen Patris ipsius scriptum in frontibus*'.
4. Rev. 22, 14: '*... felices qui faciunt praecepta eius,² ut sit potestas eorum super lignum vitae*'.

¹ Cf. Cyprian, *De cath. eccl. unitate* 7 (p. 216): '*Sacramento vestis (i.e. inconsutilis; cf. Jn. 19, 23 f.) et signo declaravit ecclesiae unitatem*'.

Cf. also Augustine, *De civ. Dei* VII, 32 (CC 24, 1; p. 315): '*Hoc mysterium vitae aeternae iam inde ab exordio generis humani per quaedam signa et sacramenta ... praedicatum est*'.

Cf. CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Sacramentum dans les plus anciens textes chrétiens*, in *Études* I², p. 243 f.

ADOLF KOLPING, *op. cit.* p. 50 ff.

² We already find this reading of Rev. 22, 14 in Tertullian, *De pud.* 19, 9 (p. 1321): *Sic et rursus: beati, qui ex praecepto agunt, ut in lignum vitae habeant*

The first three *testimonia* must undoubtedly be associated with the postbaptismal *signatio* ¹ The title above this chapter, giving the theme to which the *testimonia* apply, gives us a fresh indication that this *signatio* was *cruciform* The link between the fourth *testimonium* and the *signum crucis* must be sought in the '*lignum vitae*' The tree of Life, however, cannot be directly linked with this *signatio* A link between the tree of Life and the cross of Christ would appear obvious ² So far as we know this is the first time that we find these texts from Revelation quoted in connection with the Cross or the cruciform *signatio* in the writings of a Church Father

Conclusions In the texts of Cyprian here quoted we find *signum* used

- 1 In connection with the postbaptismal, cruciform *signatio* *Test* I, 8, *ad Dem* 22, *Epist* 73, 6-9 The expressions *signum Christi*, *signum Domini*, *signaculum Dominicum* are not found in Tertullian *Signaculum Dominicum* (*Ep* 73, 9) seems to have the same meaning as *signum Domini* (*Test* I, 8) The terms *signum*,³ *signaculum* and also *signare* which are used in this connection, appear, unlike Tertullian, to be confined to the postbaptismal *signatio* In *ad Dem* 22 Cyprian sees a reference to this *signatio* in the sign of blood from Ex 12, 13, which again contains a reference to the *passio Christi* In *Test* II, 22 Cyprian quotes as *testimonia* for this *signatio* Ez 9, 4-6, Ex 12, 13, Rev 14, 1
2. In addition, in *Test* II, 21 and in *Ad Fort* 8, Cyprian employs *signum crucis* for a figure of the Cross with the meaning of a symbol which refers (to the Cross) The *lignum vitae* too (Rev 22, 14), quoted in *Test* II, 22, seems to refer to the Cross

potestatem'

The Vulgate reads here, in agreement with the *codices Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Ephraemi* and others *Beati qui lavant stolas suas in sanguine Agni, ut sit potestas eorum in ligno vitae*

¹ This is clear for Ez 9, 4-6 and Ex 12, 13, since Cyprian quotes them in so many words in connection with this *signatio* in *Ad Dem* 22 (see p 162 f)

² Justin, *Dial* 86, 1 (see p 39 f) and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom* V, 72, 2 (see p 70 f) associated the Cross and the tree of Life from Paradise So did Origen with reference to the wood in the bitter water of Marah in *Hom in Ex* 7, 1 (Origenes VI, p 206) *Si quis sine ligno vitae, id est sine mysterio crucis bibere voluerit de legis littera, per amaritudinem nimiam morietur*

CYRILLE VOGEL, *art cit* p 39 mentions in the 'dossier scripturaire' of *Test* II, 22 a quotation from Rev 7, 3 instead of Rev 22, 14 A quotation from Rev 7, 3 would indeed be more suitable here Cyprian, however, does not mention this text

³ Cf Cyprian again, *Epist* 58, 9 (p 664) *Muniatur frons, ut signum Dei incolume servetur*

- 3 Nowhere do we find the word *signum* or *signum crucis* employed as a name for Christ's cross.¹
4. In contrast to Tertullian, we do not find in Cyprian any clear reference to the sign of the cross as a practice common among Christians.

c. Hippolytus

Tertullian and Cyprian testify to the tradition of the Church in Africa and also to the linguistic usage in which this tradition is expressed. In this examination of the terminology of the Cross and the sign of the cross it is, however, possible to call upon a witness of the Roman tradition in the first decades of the third century, namely, Hippolytus of Rome. We shall base our remarks mainly upon his *Traditio apostolica* ('Αποστολική παράδοσις).² This work makes mention of a *signatio* in the following places:

ch. 20, 8 (p. 32): In the description of the initiation ritual mention is made of a *signatio frontis, aurium et narium*, which precedes Baptism: 'And when he (*i.e.* the bishop) has finished exorcizing, let him breathe on their faces and seal (σφραγίζειν) their foreheads, ears and noses and then let him raise them up'

ch. 22, 3 (p. 39): After the threefold profession of faith and the triple immersion of the baptismal candidate and after the anointing with the 'oil of thanksgiving' by the priest (ch. 21) follows³ the postbaptismal *signatio* by the bishop: 'Pouring the consecrated oil from his hand and laying his hand on his head, he (*i.e.* the bishop) shall say: "I anoint thee

¹ Remarkable remains Ps Cyprian, *De Pascha computus* 10 (CSEL 3, 3, p. 256) *Hic est Christus Jesus qui secundum carnem Abrahae fuit filius, in cuius mysterio centenatio patri natus Isaac super humeros suos portavit lignum, ut ex eo demonstraretur et adversarios expugnari et credentes salutem consequi per lignum, id est per crucis signum*

² We have based our arguments on the edition of GR. DIX, *The treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St Hippolytus of Rome Historical introduction, textual materials and translation, with apparatus criticus and some critical notes*, London 1937. Our quotations are given according to translation, chapter division and page in this edition. For comparison and additional material we have also consulted. B. BOTTE, *La Tradition apostolique de saint Hippolyte. Essai de reconstitution* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 59), Munster 1963

Cf. also G. W. H. LAMPE, *The Seal of the Spirit*, London 1951, p. 132 ff. The Greek original of the 'Apostolic Tradition' is lost. The translation of GR. DIX is based on the Latin (L), the Arabic (Ar), the Ethiopic (E.) and the Coptic (S. = Sahidic) versions. The Greek words which GR. DIX and B. BOTTE mention in their translations are so indicated in the Coptic (Sahidic) version

³ In the edition of B. BOTTE ch. 21.

with holy oil in God the Father Almighty and Christ Jesus and the Holy Ghost" And sealing (σφραγίζειν) him on the forehead (*et consignans in frontem*) he shall give him the kiss (of peace) and say "The Lord be with you" And he who has been sealed (σφραγίζειν) shall say (*et ille qui signatus est dicat*) "And with thy spirit"

This postbaptismal *signatio* by the bishop, referred to by the term σφραγίζειν/*consignare*, was probably alluded to in Tertullian, *adv Marc* III, 22, 5-7 and expressly mentioned in Cyprian Especially from the texts of Cyprian it had become clear that, so far as Africa was concerned, we were dealing with a cruciform *signatio* That Hippolytus too for both the prebaptismal and postbaptismal *signatio* intended to refer to a cruciform *signatio*, seems to follow from the use of this same term σφραγίζειν/*consignare* for the making of the sign of the cross in ch 37 ch 36, 11 (p 66) In this passage mention is made of a *consignatio cum udo flatu*¹ by which is probably meant blowing moist breath into the hollow of the hand and with it making the sign of the cross Gr Dix gives here a double translation (of L and of Ar E S) The translation of L reads 'By (as it were) catching thy breath in thine hand and signing (σφραγίζειν) thyself with the moisture of thy breath, thy body is purified even unto thy feet'² This is probably a gesture of purification in the style of our sign of the cross with holy water

In seeking a motive for this gesture reference is made to Baptism L 'For the gift of the Spirit and the sprinkling of the font, drawn from the heart (of the believer) as from a fountain, purifies him who has believed'. The connection with Baptism is even plainer in Ar E S 'For (γάρ) this is the gift (δῶρον) of the Holy Spirit and the drops of water are of Baptism (βάπτισμα), coming up from a fountain, which is the heart of the believer (πιστός), purifying him who has believed (πιστεύειν)'

The purifying gesture is here referred to by σφραγίζειν ch 37 (p. 68ff) This chapter deals with 'the sign of the cross',³ not at

¹ Ch 41 in the edition of B BOTTE

² B BOTTE, *op cit* p 95 translates 'Quand tu te signes avec ton souffle humide en prenant avec la main ta salive, ton corps est sanctifié jusqu'aux pieds DOM BOTTE (*ibid*, footnote) sees in *spm* (in the Latin version) not the abbreviation for *spiritum* (breath), but for *sputum* (spittle) He gives the following explanation 'L a l'abréviation ordinaire de *spiritus*, mais SÆ parlent bien de la salive, et la confusion n'est pas possible en grec, ni dans le copte qui transcrit toujours πνεῦμα sans le traduire'

³ This is chapter 42 in the edition of B BOTTE

There exist two Latin versions of this chapter (La and Lb) GR DIX bases his English translation of ch 37, 1 and ch 37, 4 on La, Lb, Ar E S In ch 37 2-3 he gives a triple English translation, of La, of Lb, and of Ar E S

the initiation but as a custom existing among Christians Tertullian testifies to this practice for Africa at roughly the same time

In the text of this chapter there is much confusion This begins already in the first sentence

ch 37, 1. The Latin versions read

La '*Semper tempta modeste consignare tibi frontem*'

Lb '*Semper autem imitare cum honestate consignare tibi frontem*'

GR DIX employs the Greek *πειρα* from the Sahidic version in his rendering of the text 'And when tempted (*πειρα*) always reverently seal (*σφραγίζειν*) thy forehead (with the sign of the cross)'

The two Latin versions more strongly emphasize the manner in which the act itself should be performed (La *modeste consignare* / Lb *cum honestate consignare*), the translation of Gr Dix accentuates the circumstances in which ('when tempted') the Christian ought to make the sign of the cross ¹ What is important to us is that here mention is made of a practice of making the sign of the cross and that this practice is referred to in the Sahidic version by *σφραγίζειν* and in the two Latin versions by *consignare*

The motivation is given in the following sentence In the two Latin versions the motive for the *modeste* / *cum honestate consignare frontem*,² in Gr Dix's translation the motive for the 'to seal when tempted' 'For (*γάρ*) this sign of the Passion (La and Lb *signum passionis*) is displayed and made manifest against the devil (*διάβολος*) if thou makest it in faith (*πίστις*), . putting it forward as a shield' The motivation is based, as appears, upon the symbolic value of the *σφραγίζειν/consignare* the sign of the cross is the *signum passionis*, the sign that refers to Christ's passion ³ It is from the cross of our Lord that it derives its power as a shield against the devil This idea that the sign of the cross is a defence against the devil was not present in Tertullian Is this concept of the sign of the cross possibly connected with the exorcism at

¹ In his first edition of the *Apostolic Tradition* in 'Sources chrétiennes' (B BOTTE, *Hippolyte de Rome, La Tradition apostolique Texte latin, introduction, traduction et notes* (SC 11), Paris 1946, p 73) Dom Botte gives in his translation a combination of La and Lb 'Efforce-toi en tout temps de te signer dignement le front' In his new edition, however, he translates 'Si tu es tenté, signe toi le front avec piété'

² La *Hoc enim signum passionis adversum diabolum ostenditur, si ex fide faciat quis* . . . sicut lorica offerens

Lb *Hoc enim signum passionis adversum diabolum manifestum et comprobatum est, si ex fide itaque facis* . . . tamquam scutum offerens

³ Cf B BOTTE, *op cit* p 99 'Car c'est là le signe de la Passion'

the initiation ceremonial, which is immediately followed by a *signatio* (cf. *Trad. apost.* 20, 8)? However this may be, in this chapter the motive for the making of the sign of the cross is clear.

ch. 37, 2: In the following sentence the divergence is even greater. Paraphrasing, we can express the idea contained in La and Lb as follows: For the devil flees, when he sees in us the inner strength, outwardly symbolized (*deformatam*) in the sign of the cross as:

La: the image of baptism ¹

Lb: the image of the Word.²

Gr. Dix's translation of Ar.E.S. reads: 'Because the adversary (ἀντικείμενος) sees (θεωρεῖν) the strength of the heart, (and) that the inner man is rational (λογικός),³ sealing (σφραγίζειν) himself inwardly and outwardly with the seal (σφραγίς) of the Word (Λόγος), he trembles and flees away ...'.⁴ If we can place any reliance on the Greek words in the Sahidic version, mention is here made of 'a sealing with the seal of the Word' (σφραγίζειν (τῇ) σφραγίδι (τοῦ) Λόγου), employed for the making of the sign of the cross. In the apocryphal Acts too we shall again encounter a similar terminology in connection with the initiation.⁵

The similarity of terms suggests here too a connection between the sign of the cross as a practice and the initiation ritual.⁶ The expression '*in similitudine lavacri*' (La) is another indication of this connection

¹ La *Siquidem adversarius videns virtutem sp(iritu)s ex corde in similitudine lavacri in manifestum deformatam ...*

² Lb *Nam adversarius, cum vidit virtutem quae ex corde est, ut homo ... similitudinem Verbi in manifesto deformatam ostendat, ...*

³ The Greek λογικός is more likely to have here the meaning of 'spiritual', as in Rom. 12, 1 and 1 Peter 2, 2

Cf CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Rationabilis-λογικός*, in *Études I*², p 179-187.

⁴ Cf B BOTTE's rendering of S (Ar E), *op cit.* p 98 f *Quoniam (ἐπειδή) adversarius (ἀντικείμενος) diabolus (διάβολος) videt (θεωρεῖν) virtutem cordis tantum et cum videt hominem interiore qui est rationalis (λογικός) qui signat (σφραγίζειν) interius et exterius signo (σφραγίς) Verbi (Λόγος) Dei, fugit statim ...*

⁵ See p. 175 ff

⁶ In connection with the expression '*similitudinem Verbi*' (Lb) it is interesting to refer to a text from Ambrose, *De Sacramentis* VI, 7 (*ed cit* p 140). '*Ergo unxit te Deus, signavit te Christus Quomodo? Quia ad crucis ipsius signatus es formam, ad illius passionem. Accepisti signaculum ad illius similitudinem*'

Cf. also Rufinus in Eusebius' *Hist Eccl.* IX, 8, 15 (Eusebius II, 2 p 827) *Erat (i.e. Constantinus) quidem iam tunc Christianae religionis fautor verique Dei venerator, nondum tamen, ut est sollemne nostris initiari, signum Dominicae passionis acceperat.*

ch. 37, 3: In the following sentence Hippolytus refers to the sign of blood on the doorposts of the Jews in Egypt as a figure of the sign of the cross. He includes this as a detail in the typology of the Paschal lamb (cf. Ex. 12, 7. 13). As we have already seen, Cyprian too made a connection between this sign of blood and the *signatio* at the initiation (cf. *Ad Dem.* 22).

ch. 37, 4: In the last sentence of this chapter Hippolytus returns to the practice of making the sign of the cross. Gr. Dix translates: 'Therefore, sealing (σφραγίζειν) the forehead and the eyes with the hand (*frontem et oculos per manum consignantes*), we shall escape him, who seeks to destroy us'. Here the Latin versions mention, not only a *consignare frontem*, but also a *consignare oculos*. The prebaptismal *consignatio* too (ch. 20, 8) was not confined to the forehead. In Tertullian also we saw that the sign of the cross was not made on the forehead alone (cf. *Ad ux.* II, 5, 2: 'Latebisne tu, cum lectulum, cum corpusculum tuum signas?').

Conclusions: With regard to the terminology the following may be stated: in both the prebaptismal and postbaptismal *signatio*, as also for the *signatio cum udo flatu* and for the making of the sign of the cross, we find in the Sahidic version the Greek word σφραγίζειν. In those cases in which we also possess the Latin version (ch. 22, 3; ch. 36, 11; ch. 37) we always find the term *consignare*, varied once (in ch. 22, 3) by *signare*. In the Sahidic version, moreover, we meet in ch. 37, 2 the expression σφραγίζειν (τῇ) σφραγίδι (τοῦ) Λόγου. From these data we may deduce:

1. that the prebaptismal and postbaptismal *signatio* and likewise the *signatio cum udo flatu* were cruciform.
2. that the similarity in terminology makes a connection between the practice of the sign of the cross and the *signatio* at the initiation seem likely.
3. that Hippolytus, as appears most particularly from ch. 37, viewed the sign of the cross, the *signum passionis*, chiefly as an apotropaic sign. It is not, however, a magic charm. Faith (inward) bestows its power on the (outward) sign of the cross.

Moreover, in ch. 37 we came across the terms σημεῖον (*signum passionis*) and σφραγίς in connection with the sign of the cross.

d. Origen

As we have already seen, the word *σημεῖον* occurs in Clement of Alexandria in the meaning of Christ's cross.¹ In his writings, however, there is no mention of our sign of the cross.²

Origen, on the contrary, does mention the sign of the cross. With reference to Ezekiel 9, 4 Origen tells³ how three Jews were asked what traditional explanation they attributed to the Taw sign from Ezekiel. The first answers that the Taw, as last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, refers to the perfection of virtue. The second sees in the Taw, the first letter of the word Torah (= Law), a symbol of the observance of the Law. The third, a Jew who has become a Christian, points out that in the old Hebrew alphabet the letter Taw had the shape of a cross. According to him the Taw sign from Ezekiel is a prediction of the sign (*σημεῖον*) of the cross which the Christians make on their foreheads. That he is here referring to the practice of making the sign of the cross appears from his further explanation: 'The Christians make this (sign) at the beginning of every task and especially at prayers and readings from sacred Books'.⁴

In addition, Origen is probably alluding to the *signatio* in connection with the initiation ritual in *Hom. in Ex.* VI, 8⁵: 'What do the devils fear, at what do they tremble? Without doubt at the cross of Christ . . . Fear and trembling shall overcome them when they see on us the sign of the cross (*signum crucis*) traced with faith . . . No differently will the fear of you arise in them, when they see on you the cross of Christ (*crux Christi*), when you too can say: "Far be it from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Gal. 6, 14).'⁶

¹ See p. 140 ff.

² We do, however, find in Clement of Alexandria the term *σπράγῃς* in connection with the initiation, for example, in *Strom.* II, ch. 3, 11, 2, V, ch. 11, 73, 2; *Ecl. proph.* 12, 9; *Quis dives* 39, 1; 42, 4.

Cf. J. IJSEBAERT, *op. cit.* p. 382 f., 395 ff.

³ *Selecta in Ezechielem* 9 (PG 13, c. 800 f.)

⁴ Jerome, *Comm. in Ez.* III, 9 (PL 25, c. 88), gives the same triple explanation that we find in Origen. The Christian interpretation which he mentions reads as follows. *Et ut ad nostra veniamus, antiquis Hebraeorum litteris quibus usque hodie utuntur Samaritani, extrema Thau littera habet crucis similitudinem, quae in Christianorum frontibus pingitur, et frequenti manus inscriptione signatur.* With '*Christianorum frontibus pingitur*' Jerome is probably alluding to the *signatio* at the initiation, and with '*frequenti manus inscriptione signatur*' to the practice of making the sign of the cross.

Cf. *Idem*, *Epist.* 130, 9 (*Ad Demetriadem*; ed. J. LABOURT VII, p. 179): *Crebro signaculo munit frontem tuam, ne exterminator Aegypti in te locum reperiat.*

⁵ Origenes VI, p. 199

⁶ Speaking of Christ's cross Origen repeatedly points out the triumph which

In Origen's commentary on Matthew we twice find σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ employed for Christ's cross. The choice of σημεῖον was, however, clearly influenced by the text of the Gospel. In the commentary on Matthew 12, 39¹ the σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ is opposed to the σημεῖον Ἰωῆ. In the commentary on Matthew 24, 29 f.² mention is made of the appearance of the σημεῖον through which peace is brought in heaven and on earth (cf. Col. 1, 20). Here the word σημεῖον is obviously chosen under influence of the σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου from Mt. 24, 30.

Although the data from the voluminous works of Origen are scarce,³ he nevertheless appears to be familiar with the practice of making the sign of the cross. He establishes a connection between the practice of the sign of the cross and Ez. 9, 4. The term σημεῖον, employed for the sign of the cross in this connection, may, however, have been influenced by the σημεῖον of Ez. 9, 4.

Moreover, he knows a *signatio* at the initiation.

2. Apocryphal writings

a. The Odes of Solomon

According to G. Lampe⁴ there appears to be a reference to the use of the sign of the cross in the baptismal ritual in *Odes* 8, 15 and 29, 6f.

Ode 8, 15 (II, p. 254):

'Before they came into being,
I took knowledge of them,
and on their faces I set my seal'.

Christ, by His cross, has gained over the devil. So. *Hom. in Ex.* IV, 6 7, VI, 8; *Hom. in Jesu Nave* VIII, 3 6, *Comm. in Matth.* 13, 53 ff; 16, 24 ff, *Comm. in Joh.* 6, 55, 20, 36 Origen hereby usually quotes or alludes to Col. 2, 14 f. In *Hom. in Jesu Nave* VIII, 3 (Origenes VII, p. 338) he makes by way of textual criticism the remark '*triumphans eas (i.e. potestates) in ligno crucis, licet in aliis exemplaribus habeatur: triumphans eas in semetipso, sed apud Graecos habetur 'in ligno'.*'

¹ Fragment 275a (Origenes XII, 1, p. 124)

² Origenes XI, p. 100

³ In *Hom.* II, 5 in Ps. 38 (PG 12, c. 1405) Origen is referring to the *signatio* at the initiation: *Ecce hic Christianus dicebatur* (thus he makes the devil speak) *et signo Christi signabatur in fronte, meas autem voluntates et mea chirographa gerebat in corde. Ecce iste, qui mihi et operibus meis renuntiavit in baptismo, meis rursum operibus se inseruit meisque legibus paruit*

J. IJSEBAERT, *op. cit.* p. 397 gives as a plausible explanation of this scarcity of data concerning the initiation ritual and the sign of the cross 'the theological nature' of Origen's works.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 113.

Ode 29, 6f. (II, p. 363):

- 6 'For I believed in the Lord's Messiah
and He appeared to me that He is the Lord;
7 and He showed me His sign,
and led me by His light'.

In our opinion *Ode 29, 6f.* refers to the *crux gloriosa* at the *descensus ad inferos*.¹ In *Ode 8, 15* there may be an allusion to a cruciform *signatio* in the initiation ritual, especially if we compare *Ode 8, 15* with *Ode 42, 19f.*

Ode 42, 19f. (II, p. 405):

- 19 'And I heard their voice,
and I laid up their faith in My heart;
20 and I set My name upon their heads,
for they are free men and they are mine'.

In these passages there is an allusion to a sign upon the faithful. But must not this be taken metaphorically? And even if the reference here is to a sign in the literal sense, it seems difficult to determine whether the writer means a mark of ownership in the general sense (cf. *Ode 4, 7*) or is alluding to a *signatio* at the initiation ritual. Here too the mysterious Odes refuse to reveal their secret.²

b. The Sibylline Oracles

The first two lines from the acrostic *σταυρός* are important for us on account of the connection between Cross and sign of the cross:

Or. Sib. VIII, 244f. (p. 157):

Σῆμα δέ τοι τότε πᾶσι βροτοῖς, σφρηγὶς ἐπίσημος
τὸ ξύλον ἐν πιστοῖς, τὸ κέρας τὸ ποθοῦμενον, ἔσται.³

In our discussion on ξύλον⁴ and κέρας⁵ it became obvious that these words refer to the cross of Christ. The poetic σῆμα has a more general meaning: the Cross is a sign for all men. Compared with this general and thus vaguer σῆμα the use of σφρηγὶς is striking. The word σφραγίς does not occur as a name for Christ's cross in the Patristic texts of the

¹ See p. 145.

² J. H. BERNARD, *The Odes of Solomon* (Texts and Studies VIII, 3), Cambridge 1912, sees in 'the Baptism' the central theme of the Odes; cf. his introduction, esp. p. 3; p. 17 ff.; p. 42.

J. DANIELOU (DB, Suppl. VI, c. 682 s.v. *Odes de Salomon*) sees in *Odes 4, 8* and *8, 16*: 'une allusion au rite baptismal de la signation avec le tav'.

Cf. F. J. DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 60 ff. J. IJSEBAERT, *op. cit.* p. 392 f.; 409.

³ Translation: 'Then shall the wood (of the cross), the beloved horn, be a sign for all mortals, a clear seal upon the faithful'.

⁴ See p. 75 f.

⁵ See p. 102.

end of the second and the beginning of the third century. Hippolytus was, however, as we have already seen,¹ probably familiar with σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν as terms for the cruciform *signatio* at the initiation and for our sign of the cross. In our opinion the σφρηγίς in the Sibylline Oracles is difficult to interpret as anything other than a cruciform *signatio*. If this interpretation is correct then these verses show how easy it was for the author to make the transition in thought from Cross to sign of the cross.²

As we have earlier remarked with regard to these lines,³ here too the motives for the reference to the *signatio* in this context⁴ are veiled in mystery.⁵

c. Apocryphal Acts

The Acts of Paul

In ch. 22 (I, p. 250) of *the Acts of Paul and Thecla*,⁶ Thecla, before ascending the funeral pyre, makes the sign of the cross: ἡ δὲ τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ ποιησαμένη ἐπέβη τῶν ξύλων. Compared with the σφραγίζειν of Hippolytus and the *signare* of Tertullian, the descriptive character of the expression τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ ποιεῖσθαι is striking.⁷ The

¹ See p. 167 ff.

² The link between σφραγίς as belonging to the initiation ritual and Christ's cross is clearly pointed out in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum* III, 17, 1 (F. X. FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum I*, Paderborn 1906, p. 211): τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ ταφῆς, τὸ ἔλαιον ἀντὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἡ σφραγίς ἀντὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ in a context in which the symbolism of the baptismal ritual is explained as a likeness with Christ's death, burial and resurrection (cf Rom 6, 3 f).

Or. Sib VIII, 247 also indicates a connection between Cross and Baptism: ὕδασι φωτίζον κλητούς ἐν δώδεκα πηγαῖς

In this connection we should also like to refer to the inscription of Abercius, dated before 216 A.D., in which Abercius, Bishop of Hieropolis in Phrygia Salutaris, testifies to the Church of Rome (line 9) λαὸν δ' εἶδον ἐκεῖ λαμπρὰν σφραγεῖδαν ἔχοντα (I saw there a people bearing a splendid seal)

Cf RAC I, c 12-17 (H. STRATHMANN-TH KLAUSER)

³ See p. 75 and p. 102, compare also p. 115 f.

⁴ A remarkable fact is that Eusebius, who in *Constantini oratio ad coetum sanctorum* 18, 4 (Eusebius I, p. 180 f) quotes the acrostic σταυρός in its entirety, gives here only a divergent reading. Instead of σφρηγίς ἐπίσημος Eusebius reads: ἀριδείκτεον οἶον. This textual variant, however, finds no support in the MSS of the Sibylline Oracles

⁵ J. IJSEBAERT, *op cit* p. 417 remarks 'The word σφρηγίς is added in a way which suggests that the seal of the cross was known, but also that it was still new'

⁶ The sequence of dealing here with the Apocryphal Acts is that used by J. QUASTEN, *Patrology I*, p. 130 ff

⁷ We may not, however, attach any conclusions to this descriptive character. In *Kreuzzeichen V* (1962) p. 13 ff F. J. DOLGER points out that as late as the fourth century expressions such as ποιεῖν τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ποιεῖν τὸ σημεῖον

connection with the cross of Christ is, however, in this expression more vivid than in σφραγίζειν.

The term σφραγίς also occurs. In ch. 25 (I, p. 253) Thecla asks Paul: 'Give me the seal in Christ (ἡ ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίς)'. That the reference here is to Baptism is apparent from Paul's answer: 'Have patience, Thecla, and you shall receive the water (τὸ ὕδωρ)'.

In the *martyrium Pauli* too we find the word σφραγίς for Baptism. At Paul's martyrdom Longus and Cestus become converted and in the story of their conversion 'the seal in the Lord (ἡ ἐν Κυρίῳ σφραγίς)' is twice mentioned.¹ From the context it is clear that, also in this case, the reference is to Baptism.

The Acts of Peter

In ch. 5 of the *Actus Vercellenses* (I, p. 50) we find described how during his voyage to Italy, Peter baptizes the ship's captain Theon in the Adriatic Sea: 'Now, when there was a calm upon the ship in Hadria (the Adriatic), Theon showed it to Peter, saying unto him: "If thou wilt account me worthy, whom thou mayest baptize with the seal of the Lord (*quem intingas in signo Domini*), thou hast an opportunity. . ." And Peter went down by a rope and baptized (*baptizavit*) Theon in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost' (James, p. 308). The meaning of *intingere in signo Domini* is not entirely clear,² but it appears from what follows that *in signo Domini* is connected

τοῦ σταυροῦ, ποιεῖν τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ σταυροῦ still occur for the making of the sign of the cross

DOLGER assumes that these expressions belonged more to popular speech in contrast to the more elegant σφραγίζειν. He is, however, of the opinion that, in view of the dating of the Acts of Paul (c. 190 A D), it is more probable that τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ ποιησαμένη alludes to the cruciform attitude of prayer and not to the making of the sign of the cross. This argument does not seem to us peremptory.

¹ Viz in ch. 5 (I, p. 115) and in ch. 7 (I, p. 117).

² ED STOMMEL, 'Begraben mit Christus' (Rom 6, 4) und der Taufritus, in RQ 49 (1954) p. 18, here translates *intingere in signo Domini* by 'eintauchen in das Kreuz'.

J IJSEBAERT, *op cit* p. 303 translates: 'to immerse with the seal of the Lord'. F J DOLGER, *Kreuzzeichen* V, p. 15, remarks 'Die Bezeichnung der Taufe als "Eintauchung in das Zeichen des Herrn" ist doch etwas fremdartig. Sie wird aber in die Linie einmünden, die bei Johannes Chrysostomus gekennzeichnet ist mit der Taufbezeichnung "Kreuz"'. DOLGER is referring here to Joh Chrys., *Hom in Joh.* 25, 2 (PG 59, c. 151) οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸ βάπτισμα σταυρός λέγεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ σταυρός βάπτισμα.

Cf also *Const Apost VII*, 43, 3 (FUNK I, p. 448). . . διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ, οὗ τύπον ἔδωκεν τὸ βάπτισμα τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, where a clear connection is made between Cross and Baptism, based on Rom 6, 3 ff., as appears from *Const Apost VII*, 43, 5 (*ibid*).

with the postbaptismal *signatio*. After the apparition of a youth '*decore splendidus*' there follows at the celebration of the Eucharist this prayer of thanksgiving by Peter: 'O God, Jesus Christ, in thy Name hath this man now been washed (*lotus*)¹ and sealed with thy holy seal (*signatus est tuo sancto signo*). Therefore in thy Name do I impart unto him thine Eucharist (*Eucharistiam communico*), that he may be thy perfect servant (*ut sit consummatus servus tuus*)' (James, p. 308f.) The '*(signatio) tuo sancto signo*' does not refer here to the whole initiation but remains confined to the postbaptismal *signatio*. This last quotation is moreover interesting so far as it reveals that the complete initiation (*ut sit consummatus*) comprised: the baptismal bath – the *signatio* – the participation in the Eucharist. This is not sufficiently brought out in James' translation: 'that he may be thy *perfect* servant'.

The Acts of John

J. IJsebaert² has drawn attention to the fact that in the *Acta Joannis* 98, among the many names for the luminous cross which Jesus shows to John, the term σφραγίς is missing. We do, however, find in the Acts the verb σφραγιζειν in the meaning of 'to make the sign of the cross', viz. in ch. 9 (*sec. rec.*; II, 1 p. 156): By making the sign of the cross over a goblet of poison, John renders this poison harmless to himself: ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος τὸ φάρμακον καὶ κατασφραγισάμενος αὐτό . . . This detail is missing in the *prima recensio* and rightly arouses the impression of being a later addition³ in a story which is already fantastic enough.

In ch. 115 (II, 1; p. 215) too mention is made of the sign of the cross. Before dying, John signs himself with the sign of the cross upon his entire body (σφραγισάμενος ἑαυτὸν ὅλον).⁴ J. IJsebaert⁵ doubts

¹ '*Lotus*' instead of '*locutus*' a correction of LIPSIUS.

G. LAMPE, *op. cit.* p. 108, remarks: 'It is possible that the *signum* stands for the actual baptism but it is more probable that it denotes either the seal of the cross . . . or perhaps the threefold Name pronounced over the candidate'.

C. VOGEL, *art. cit.* p. 47, makes the remark: 'La position du participe *signatus* après *lotus* (ablution baptismale) et avant la Communion, indique qu'il s'agit de la signation de confirmation'.

² *Op. cit.* p. 410.

³ Cf. *op. cit.* p. 411.

⁴ M. R. JAMES, *op. cit.* p. 270 translates: 'Having sealed himself in every part'. C. VOGEL, *art. cit.* p. 49 remarks: 'Quand dans les textes paléochrétiens il est question de *signare totum corpus* (par exemple *Acta Joannis* 115), il faut entendre par là, non un large signe de croix sur le corps, mais plusieurs petites croix tracées sur les différents membres' (cf. also p. 42). On p. 50 he makes the remark: 'Il est difficile de dire à quelle époque est apparue la 'grande' *signatio*; il ne semble pas que ce fût avant le huitième siècle'.

Cf. also G. LAMPE, *op. cit.* p. 262.

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 411. Nevertheless, the practice of the *signare frontem* was not so

whether this detail formed part of the original Acts, for it does not occur in the Syriac translation. There are, moreover, quite a few variants in the Greek MSS.¹

The Acts of Thomas

There is obvious mention of the sign of the cross in ch. 54 (II, 2, p. 170) of the Acts of Thomas. There, by the sign of the cross,² the apostle, as it were, empowers a youth to raise to life the woman he has killed: 'And he saith unto the youth, having signed (σφραγίσας) him . . .' (James p. 390).

More difficult to interpret are σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν in ch. 49 (II, 2, p. 165). A woman whom the apostle has cured of possession is, together with many bystanders, blessed by him by the imposition of hands (ἐπιθεὶς αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς).³ After this the woman asks: "Apostle of the Most High, give me the seal (σφραγίς), that that enemy return not again unto me". Then he caused her to come near unto him (Syr. went to a river which was close by there) and laid his hands upon her and sealed (ἐσφράγισεν) her in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; and many others were also sealed (ἐσφραγίσθησαν) with her' (James p. 388). The σφραγίζειν is performed here by imposition of hands and the pronouncing of the trinitarian formula. In our Greek text there is no express mention of 'baptismal bath' or of anointing. In all probability the Greek (Catholic) adapter of the original Gnostic Acts considered σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν as terms for the whole initiation, although in the original Acts they referred only to the anointing with olive oil.⁴

This might also be deduced from ch. 26 f. (II, 2, p. 141 f.), where king Gundafor and his brother Gad ask the apostle for the seal of the

exclusive as J IJSEBAERT makes it appear (*loc. cit.*) 'According to the third century texts . . ., the old custom was to seal only the forehead' We refer to Tertullian, *ad Ux* II, 5, 2 and Hippolytus, *Trad apost* 37, 4, texts which we have already discussed.

¹ Even though the expression varies, all the MSS mention this detail Cf also F. J. DOLGER, *Kreuzzeichen* I (1958) p. 8

² That the term σφραγίζειν has no connection here with the initiation appears from ch. 51 (II, 2, p. 167 f.), where it is told of the same youth that he has received the seal (σφραγίς) and participates in the Eucharist

³ In ch. 29 (II, 2, p. 146) blessing is mentioned three times twice of persons and once of bread, olive oil, vegetables and salt. The term employed is εὐλογεῖν.

⁴ J. IJSEBAERT, *op cit* p. 393 ff., gives a reconstruction of the initiation in the original Gnostic Acts of Thomas, which consisted only of an anointing with olive oil, followed by the Eucharist (cf *op cit* p. 4 and p. 417 f.)

Cf also E. AMANN in DB, Suppl. I, c. 501 ff., J. QUASTEN, *op cit* I, p. 139 f., F. L. CROSS, *op cit* p. 82 f.

Word (ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ Λόγου). Again in the Greek version there is no express mention of the baptismal bath; the terms σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν are, however, used.¹

From the use of the same term σφραγίζειν for both the making of the sign of the cross and the anointing with olive oil it may be deduced that this anointing was cruciform² and, as appears from ch. 27 and ch. 49, was performed while the trinitarian formula was being pronounced.³

The following instances are also worthy of mention:

At the celebration of the Eucharist, described in ch. 50 (II, 2 p. 166), the apostle makes a cross in the Eucharistic Bread (διεχάραξεν τῷ ἄρτῳ τὸν σταυρόν) before breaking and distributing it.⁴

In the prayer of blessing of the olive oil in ch. 157 (II, 2 p. 267), a connection is made between the olive tree and the wood of the Cross: 'And the apostle took oil in a cup of silver and spoke thus over it: "... Let His (*i.e.* Jesus') victorious Might (δύναμις) come and be established in this oil, like it was established in the tree (ξύλον) that was its kin, even His Might at that time, whereof they that crucified (σταυρώσαντες) Him could not endure the Word" (James p. 433).

This too is probably the underlying meaning of the prayer which the apostle pronounces while pouring out (καταχεῖν) the olive oil over the head of Mygdonia (ch. 121, II, 2 p. 230): 'Thou, holy oil, given unto us for sanctification, secret mystery whereby the Cross was shown unto us' (ἐν ᾧ ὁ σταυρὸς ἡμῖν ἐδείχθη; James p. 418). It is remarkable that this connection between olive oil and Cross is made just at the initiation ritual.⁵

¹ There is indeed mention of anointing and baptism, followed by the Eucharist in ch. 121 (II, 2, p. 230), after Mygdonia has asked (ch. 120, *ibid*) the apostle for 'the seal of Jesus Christ' (ἡ σφραγὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ). In ch. 132 f too (II, 2, p. 239 f) an initiation is mentioned, consisting of anointing, baptism and Eucharist.

We find the same ritual in ch. 157 f (II, 2, p. 266 f).

² J. IJSEBAERT, *op cit* p. 418.

³ The meaning of σημεῖον in ch. 28 (II, 2, p. 145) is not quite clear. After the initiation described in ch. 26 f the apostle gives a sermon on the Parousia and the preparation for it. He concludes this sermon with the words: 'Come unto Him, that is indeed good, that ye may receive grace of Him and implant His sign (τὸ αὐτοῦ σημεῖον) in your souls' (JAMES, p. 377).

⁴ So also J. IJSEBAERT, *op cit* p. 418.

⁵ In ch. 157 allusion is made to the relation between the olive wood and the wood of the Cross. This may also be the meaning of the 'secret mystery whereby the Cross was shown unto us' in ch. 121. It seems to us not impossible, however, that the allusion is to the cruciform character of the anointing itself, as in the prayer over the Chrism in the *Euchologium* of Serapion, included in F. X. FUNK,

Summing-up: In the early Apocryphal Acts mention is made of the sign of the cross. The expressions employed are:

in the Acts of Paul and Thecla 22: τὸν τύπον τοῦ σταυροῦ ποιεῖσθαι.

in the Acts of John 115: σφραγίζεσθαι (oneself).

in the Acts of Thomas 54: σφραγίζειν (another).

In the *signatus est tuo sancto signo* from the Acts of Peter (*Act. Verc.* 5), an expression for the postbaptismal anointing, *tuo sancto signo* can denote not only the concept 'seal' but also the concept 'cross – sign': Christ's seal is the Cross.

In the Acts of Thomas we find in the use of the same terms for the sign of the cross and the anointing at the initiation an indication, just as in the terminology of Hippolytus, that this anointing was cruciform. The expression 'the seal of the Word' (ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ Λόγου) in the Acts of Thomas 26, referring to the initiation, shows a striking similarity to 'to seal with the seal of the Word' (σφραγίζειν (τῇ) σφραγίδι (τοῦ) Λόγου) in the Sahidic version of Hippolytus' *Traditio apostolica* 37, 2 where it is used for the sign of the cross.

3. Concluding remarks

In *Tertullian* already, the first Christian author to mention the sign of the cross in Patristic literature, we note a striking similarity in terminology between the words for the sign of the cross as a pious usage in Christian daily life and those for initiation in general and for the postbaptismal *signatio* in particular. The use of the same terms is an indication that the gesture was in both cases the same, namely a cruciform *signatio*. The cruciform character of the postbaptismal *signatio* finds confirmation in Tertullian's interpretation of the '*signum Tau, species crucis*', associated by him with the *signaculum frontium* in the *catholica*. The expression '*signum Tau*', derived from Ezekiel 9, 4, is based on the Greek σημεῖον. On the other hand, the Greek-Christian initiation terminology before Tertullian and his own explanation of this terminology presume rather a dependence on σφραγίς and σφραγίζειν than on σημεῖον. Unlike σημεῖον, σφραγίς proves to be used especially in liturgical texts in early Christian literature. Moreover, the word σφραγίς had a dynamic value; contrary to σημεῖον, it emphasized

Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum II, p. 186: 'those who are baptized and are now herewith (i.e. with the Chrism) anointed in the shape (ἐκτύπωμα) of the salutary sign of the Cross (τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σωτηριώδους σταυροῦ), . . .'
Cf. G. LAMPE, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

the action. The metaphorical value of σφραγίς, it is true, gradually faded because of its frequent use. Therefore σφραγίς and σημεῖον, that is, 'seal' and 'sign' could eventually be used without any difference in meaning. We may add that in Latin – from Plautus onwards – *signum* meant both 'seal' and 'sign', in other words, answered to Greek σφραγίς as well as σημεῖον. This prevents us from bringing more clarity to this subject.

Cyprian does not mention the custom of making the sign of the cross. His initiation terminology does show similarity to that of Tertullian, but at the same time it appears that *signare* and *signaculum/signum* are reserved for the cruciform postbaptismal *signatio*. Noteworthy are the attributives in: *signum Christi*, *signum Domini*, *signaculum Dominicum*. We did not come across these in Tertullian. In addition, Cyprian uses *signum (crucis)* in *Test. II*, 21 and in *Ad Fort.* 8 for a sign (prediction or figure) referring to the Cross. In these last-mentioned cases *signum* corresponds to the Greek σημεῖον.

Hippolytus speaks both of the practice of making the sign of the cross and of the prebaptismal and postbaptismal *signatio*. For both he uses a similar term, namely σφραγιζέω/(con)*signare*, as, indeed, also for the *signatio cum udo flatu*. In this similarity of terms we again find an indication that the *signationes* in question were cruciform. Here too we find indications for a connection between the sign of the cross and the initiation.

Hippolytus does, however, expressly state in his *Trad. apost.* 37, 2 that the sign of the cross is the *signum passionis*, the symbol of Christ's passion, a symbol referring to the Cross. Here the emphasis is laid upon the symbolic value of the sign of the cross. A relation in meaning with σημεῖον is evident.

From the few data provided by *Origen* too it appears that he was familiar with the custom of making the sign of the cross. The term for the sign of the cross is σημεῖον, which, however, may be influenced by the text of Ezekiel 9, 4 which is referred to. In addition, *Origen* alludes to a *signatio* at the initiation. This is probably the case in *Hom. in Ex.* 6, 8 (*signum crucis fideliter fixum*) which refers to the *crux Christi*. A clearer instance is *Hom.* 2, 5 in Ps. 38 where it is said of the believer in connection with the initiation: '*signo Christi signabatur in fronte*'. In these two cases, however, we are dependent upon the Latin translation. It is, therefore, difficult to determine whether this *signum* and *signare* are based on the Greek σφραγίς or σημεῖον.

To sum up we can say that from the Patristic texts of the first half

of the third century it appears that the terminology of the sign of the cross and that of the *signatio* as part of the initiation display a striking similarity. This similarity in terminology is an indication that the *signatio* at the initiation was also cruciform.

In the same way we noted in the *Sibylline Oracles* a connection between Christ's cross and the σφογγὴς ἐπίσημος as a cruciform *signatio*. The practice of the sign of the cross appeared to be already known in the *early Apocryphal Acts*. There too we noticed the same similarity in terminology with the *signatio* at the initiation as in the Patristic texts.

The problem which puzzles us with reference to this similarity in terminology is this: Was the practice of the sign of the cross, which already existed among Christians in the second half of the second century A.D. a custom which originated and developed independently, to be incorporated at a given moment in the initiation ritual? Or did the development occur in precisely the opposite way? Did an independent custom of making the sign of the cross grow gradually from the cruciform *signatio* belonging to the initiation ritual? Or did each originate and develop entirely independently of the other?

In view of the striking similarity in terminology this last possibility seems to be ruled out.

As regards the first two possibilities, it would appear that no sufficient answer to this question may be deduced from the texts quoted. We should like, however, to point out the following ¹:

In the quotations from Tertullian, Cyprian and Origen concerning the sign of the cross or the cruciform *signatio* at the initiation, it was apparent that they all refer to Ezekiel 9, 4. 6. This being so, this text is obviously of the utmost importance in this connection. In his ninth chapter Ezekiel describes how the inhabitants of Jerusalem who lament the abominations committed there are signed with a 'taw' on their foreheads and so are spared at Yahweh's divine judgment on the city. The putting on of this taw sign ² has a sacral significance: it is a

¹ For this part we have derived data from:

G. LAMPE, *op. cit.* p. 14 ff.

E. DINKLER, *Zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens*, in ZThK 48 (1951), p. 148-172.

Idem, *Jesu Wort vom Kreuztragen*, in 'Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann' (Beiheft 21 (1954) bei ZNW) p. 110-129.

Idem, *Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz*, in JAC 5 (1962) p. 93-107 (already quoted).

W. MICHAELIS, *Zeichen Siegel, Kreuz*, in ThZ 12 (1956) p. 505-525.

J. DANÉLOU, *Les symboles . . .*, p. 143-152 (Le signe du Tav).

² The taw was cruciform in the old Hebrew alphabet (cf. p. 149, footnote 1).

sign of belonging to Yahweh and so a sign of protection, of salvation on the day of judgment. It is, therefore, at the same time an eschatological sign and a guarantee of salvation.

That the Ezekiel sign was so understood in Jewish-Essene circles in the first century B.C. appears from the Damascus document B, 1, 9-14.¹ There we read: 'And they that give heed unto Him are the poor of the flock These shall escape in the time of the visitation, but they that hesitate shall be given over to the sword when the Messiah of Aaron and Israel shall come. As it happened in the epoch of the visitation of the forefathers, which He said by the hand of Ezekiel: "to set the mark upon the foreheads of such as sigh and groan". But they that remained were delivered to the sword that shall execute the vengeance of the Covenant. Thus shall be the case with all members of His Covenant, who do not hold fast to "these are the ordinances", that they shall be visited to extinction by the hand of Belial'.

In the Psalms of Solomon too (ch. 15, 6; *ed.* Rahlfs) the eschatological meaning of σημεῖον is clear from the context: 'The mark (σημεῖον) of God is upon the righteous, that they may be saved'.²

But apart from certain Jewish circles the memory of the Ezekiel sign also survived within the *Catholica*. In Rev. 7, 1 ff. it is described how an angel of God comes from the East with the seal (σφραγίς) of the living God and how he seals (σφραγίζειν) the foreheads of the servants of God, before the Divine judgment begins on earth. In this passage John was inspired by Ezekiel 9.³

This same theme is also found in the Apocalypse of Elias.⁴ At the destruction of heaven and earth at the end of time the just, who are recognizable by the Name of God on their foreheads (cf. Rev. 14, 1;

¹ CHAIM RABIN, *The Zadokite documents*, Oxford 1958², p. 30 ff.

² Cf. R. H. CHARLES, *The Apocrypha and Pseudo-Epigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1913, vol II, p. 646

In his article *Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz*, p. 94 ff. E. DINKLER says that on Jewish ossuaria and in Jewish burial chambers in Jerusalem and district numerous 'signs of the cross' have been found, dating from the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. He thinks that there can be no doubt of the Jewish character of these signs and that they must be interpreted as eschatological marks of ownership and protection (cf. also his catalogue of Jewish signs of the cross, *art. cit.* p. 109 ff.)

³ Cf. M. E. BOISMARD, *L'Apocalypse* (Bible de Jérusalem) 1959³, p. 14 (influence of Ezekiel on Rev. 4-9). In his commentary on Rev. 7, 3 (p. 46) he refers to Ezekiel 9, 4. 6. 'dont Jean s'inspire ici'

⁴ J. B. FREY, DB, Suppl. I, c. 457, considers the Apocalypse of Elias in its present form as Christian.

22, 4) and God's seal on their right hands, will be saved.¹ The text reads as follows: 'Thus speaks the Lord: "I shall write My Name upon their foreheads and set My seal upon their right hands".'

These texts do not provide any definite proof that a *signatio* on the forehead was known in Apostolic times. However, in view of the eschatological trend in precisely the first century of Christianity, such a *signatio* seems extremely probable.²

Was it not likely too, in view of the Old Testament trend of thought in primitive Christianity, that people should hark back to the taw sign of Ezekiel, of which the deep significance only became fully obvious in Christianity? The old Hebrew taw was the initial letter of the name Christ (Χριστός), an interpretation which was especially meaningful in Hellenistic milieus.³ It indicated a belonging to Christ⁴ and was thus the sign of salvation, of deliverance at the coming Parousia of the Lord. And could a more significant occasion be found for the putting on of this sign than at the adoption into the Christian community, in other words, at the initiation⁵?

The taw sign, however, had yet another symbolic meaning. By its shape it referred also to the Cross, and precisely at Baptism was this cross symbolism significant, as an expression of the close relationship between Cross and Baptism. It is clear from Patristic literature that the Christians were conscious that Baptism derived its power from the cross and passion of Christ. We refer only to the following texts⁶:

¹ G. STEINDORFF, *Die Apokalypse des Elias* (TU, N.F. II, 3a), Leipzig 1899, p. 69.

² Cf. G. LAMPE, *op. cit.* p. 15, who in this connection also refers to Eph. 4, 30 'And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, in Whom you were sealed (ἐν ᾧ ἐσφραγίσθητε) for the day of Redemption'.

³ In the Babylonian Talmud too (*ed.* I. EPSTEIN), tractates *Horayoth* 12a (I. SŁOTKI, p. 86) and *Kerithoth* 5b (I. PORUSCH p. 36), it is said that the Jewish priests, in contrast to the kings, were anointed in the shape of a Greek Chi (= X), that is, in the form of the old Hebrew Taw.

⁴ F. J. DOLGER, *Profane und religiöse Brandmarkung der Tiere in der heidnischen und christlichen Antike*, AC III (1932) p. 25 ff gives interesting data concerning marks of ownership. They appear to have been usually the initial letter(s) of the owner's name or a particular symbol.

Cf. *Idem*, *Der Sinn der sakralen Tätowierung und Brandmarkung in der antiken Kultur*, AC III (1932) p. 257 ff.

⁵ So too circumcision, the official act by which men were adopted into the community of God's people, was an outward sign (σημεῖον) of the Covenant between God and His people (cf. Gen. 17, 10 f; Rom. 4, 11).

⁶ This theme is elucidated in detail by PER LUNDBERG, *op. cit.*, ch. III 'La Croix dans le fleuve', p. 167 ff.

Ignatius, *ad Eph.* 18, 2 (p. 87) ¹: '... Jesus Christ, who was born and was baptized, that His passion might purify the water'.

Ps. Barnabas 11, 8 (p. 24) ²: 'Blessed are those who in faithful trust in the Cross have descended into the water'.

Justin, *Dial.* 13, 1 (p. 104) ³: '... the salutary bath (τὸ σωτήριον λουτρὸν), salutary for those who repent and are purified in faith by the Blood of Christ and His death'.⁴

From later Patristic literature we quote only Ambrose,⁵ *De myst.* IV, 20: '*Quid est enim aqua sine cruce Christi nisi elementum commune sine ullo sacramenti profectu?*'

While hesitating to express ourselves quite so positively as J. Daniélou,⁶ this origin of the cruciform *signatio* at the initiation seems to us extremely probable.

That the practice of the sign of the cross is based on this cruciform *signatio* at the initiation cannot be proved either from the texts. The development of the Greek σφραγίς, as based upon the texts, is, however, suggestive. Originally σφραγίς referred to the complex rite of initiation, whereby at one time the solemn profession of faith was stressed, at another the baptism in water or the postbaptismal anointing. Gradually, however, σφραγίς appears to be increasingly reserved for this postbaptismal anointing.⁷ Since this anointing was performed in the shape of a cross (the taw sign), the meaning of σφραγίς also came to be transposed to the sign of the cross itself. This development in meaning was made easier since σφραγίς referred not only to the instrument of sealing (the signet ring or stone) but also to the inscription or emblem engraved in the sealing stone and to the impression made by the seal.⁸

This development in meaning of σφραγίς within the ritual of initiation indicates a connection between the sign of the cross as practice and the initiation. It was, moreover, obvious that, in making the sign

¹ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ... ὃς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη, ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθάρισι.

² Μακάριοι, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐλπίσαντες κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ.

³ ... τὸ σωτήριον λουτρὸν ... τοῖς μεταγινώσκουσι καὶ ... καθαριζομένοις ... πίστει διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ.

⁴ Cf. also *Dial.* 86, 6 (see p. 43 f.) and *Dial.* 138 (see p. 45 f.).

⁵ B. BOTTE, *ed. cit.* p. 166.

⁶ In *Les symboles* ..., p. 143: 'Le signe de croix apparaît d'abord dans les rites baptismaux. C'est son usage le plus archaïque'.

⁷ Cf. F. J. DÖLGER, *Sphragis*, p. 70 ff., where the earliest texts from Christian literature concerning σφραγίς are collected, and also p. 170 ff. where the semantic development of σφραγίς from the third century onwards is sketched. Cf. also J. IJSEBAERT, *op. cit.* p. 142.

⁸ Cf. F. J. DÖLGER, *op. cit.* p. 1-7; G. LAMPE, *op. cit.* p. 7.

of the cross, that is, the *signaculum frontis*, the Christian should recall his initiation into the community of God's people. The sign of the cross gave fresh expression to the feeling of belonging to Christ, to the belief in the redeeming power of Christ's cross, to the expectation of the final Redemption at the coming Parousia.

In Hippolytus' *Traditio apostolica* a prebaptismal and postbaptismal anointing are distinguished. This prebaptismal anointing, immediately following an exorcism, was cruciform. From Hippolytus' motivation for the practice of making the sign of the cross¹ it appears that in his eyes the sign of the cross had essentially an apotropaic character: it served as a defence against the devil. This idea also emerges from Origen's view of the Cross. Is it not likely that this points to a connection between the exorcism, incorporated in the initiatory ritual, and the practice of making the sign of the cross? If this were so, then the sign of the cross was at the same time a reminder of the *abrenuntiatio diaboli*, and through this symbolic gesture the belief was professed in Christ who had triumphed on the Cross over 'the principalities and powers' (cf. Col. 2, 15).

In the sign of the cross, therefore, we see reflected the various aspects of the complex rite of initiation.²

If in Greek it is still possible to distinguish the links connecting the sign of the cross with σημεῖον and σφραγίς, this is not so in Latin. In Latin the word *signum* has the general meaning of 'sign' and is so also used for the symbolic sign that is the sign of the cross. In this meaning it corresponds to the Greek σημεῖον. It has in addition, however, the more particular meaning of 'seal' and so also corresponds to σφραγίς.³ This fact rendered more difficult our study of the texts of Tertullian, Cyprian and the Latin version of Hippolytus' *Traditio apostolica*. It is

¹ Hippolytus is the first writer to give a motivation for the practice of the sign of the cross.

² The following instances from later Patristic literature are illustrative of the usage of σημεῖον and σφραγίς and their mutual relation: Eusebius, *De vita Constantini* 3, 2 (Eusebius I, p. 78): νῦν μὲν τὸ πρόσωπον τῷ σωτηρίῳ κατασφραγιζόμενος σημείῳ (speaking of Constantine). In his *Demonstratio evangelica* VI, 25 (Eusebius VI, p. 295), referring to Is. 66, 17 ff., Eusebius says of the Christians: . . . τῷ σωτηριῷ δει σημείῳ πάντας τοὺς εἰς Χριστὸν πεπιστευκότας σφραγιδὶ χρωμένους.

With reference to the same text of Isaiah, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 12, 8 (PG 33, c. 736) combines the concepts σταυρός, σημεῖον and σφραγίς . . . καὶ καταλείψω ἐπ' αὐτῶν (*i. e.* τῶν ἔθνων) σημείον· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀγῶνος τοῦ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ σφραγίδα βασιλικὴν ἐκάστω δίδωμι τῶν ἐμῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔχειν ἐπὶ μετώπου

³ Cf. J. IJSEBAERT, *op. cit.* p. 412 f.

our impression that in later Latin Christian literature the general meaning of '*signum*', that is, symbolic sign, came to prevail. A detailed examination of the texts would be necessary to determine whether this opinion is correct.

APPENDIX I

SYMBOLS OF THE CROSS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

In the first and second chapters we confined ourselves principally to the typology of the Cross, that is, to symbols of the Cross derived from the Old Testament.¹ In some particular cases, for example, in dealing with the 'cornua' in relation to the Cross in the work of Tertullian, it was not possible to make a clear distinction between typology and symbolism, in other words, between symbolism derived from the Old Testament and symbolism not so derived.² Sometimes the boundary between typology and symbolism was undefined. For the sake of completeness we may not confine ourselves in this study to cases of typology only. We must also give a survey of cross symbolism in this early period. Therefore we add this appendix in order to make it clear that, granting Biblical typology had characteristics of its own, it was in no way the only kind of symbolism in these early Christian times.³

¹ A remarkable feature is that in certain cases this typology shows similarity to archetypes from the general religious symbolism, such as the tree of Life and the horn motif.

Cf. MIRCEA ELIADE, *Images et Symboles*, Paris 1952, *passim*.

Also W. BREDE KRISTENSEN, *Symbol en werkelijkheid*, Zeist 1962, esp. p. 139 ff, 243 ff ; 258 ff

² That a distinction was already made in the first centuries between cross typology and cross symbolism (even though these terms are not employed) is evident from the difference in treatment of the cross theme in Justin's *Dialogue* (*passim*), compared with his *I Apology* 55, and also in Tertullian's *adversus Marcionem* III, 18-19 (cf. *adversus Iudaeos* 10 and 13), compared with his *ad Nationes* I, 12 (cf. *Apologeticum* 16, 6-8).

³ Cf. J. DANIELLOU, *Judéo-Christianisme*, p. 303 ff.

Idem, *Les symboles . . .*, p. 95 ff ; 143 ff.

Idem, *Le symbolisme cosmique de la Croix*, in LMD 75 (1963), p. 23 ff.

H. RAHNER, *Antenna crucis*, a series of articles on the typology and symbolism of the Cross, in ZKTh. (see bibliography), *passim*

Idem, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung*, p. 77 ff ; p. 467 ff

M. SULZBERGER, *Le symbolisme de la Croix et les monogrammes de Jésus chez les premiers Chrétiens*, in Byzantion 2 (1925), p. 337 ff

J. CARCOPINO, *Étude d'Histoire chrétienne*, Paris 1951, p. 11 ff

From the cases of cross typology discussed in the first and second chapters it appears that this Biblical symbolism was based either upon a material resemblance between figure and Cross, in other words, upon wood-symbolism, or upon a formal resemblance between figure and Cross, in other words, upon the symbolism of the shape of the Cross. The non-Biblical symbolism as found in early Christian literature appears to be a symbolism of shape. In the symbol the form of Christ's cross is recognized.

The Christians of the first centuries prove to have recognized symbols of the Cross in:

the human figure

Justin,¹ *I Apol.* 55, 4 (p. 66) saw the cross shape in the erect posture of man² and the stretching out of his arms (τῷ ὀρθόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἔκτασιν χειρῶν ἔχειν). Tertullian³ followed Justin in this.

This form of cross symbolism was consciously expressed in the Christian attitude of prayer. In the *Odes of Solomon* 27, 1 and 42, 1 we find already plainly stated⁴:

'for the expansion (stretching out) of my hands is His sign'

Tertullian stresses the cross symbolism of this attitude of prayer: the Christians did not raise their hands so very high⁵ but extended

¹ Here follows this whole passage of Justin's first Apology, to which we shall repeatedly refer in this appendix.

'Ἄλλ' οὐδαμοῦ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τινος τῶν λεγομένων υἱῶν τοῦ Διὸς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι ἐμιμήσαντο· οὐ γὰρ ἐνοεῖτο αὐτοῖς, συμβολικῶς, ὡς προδεδήλωται, τῶν εἰς τοῦτο εἰρημένων πάντων λελεγμένων. 2 ὅπερ, ὡς προεῖπεν ὁ προφήτης, τὸ μέγιστον σύμβολον τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχει, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ὅσιν πιπτόντων δεικνύται· κατανοήσατε γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, εἰ ἄνευ τοῦ σχήματος τούτου διοικεῖται ἡ κοινωνία· ἔχειν δύναται. 3 θάλασσα μὲν γὰρ οὐ τέμνεται, ἣν μὴ τοῦτο τὸ τρόπαιον, ὃ καλεῖται ἰστίον, ἐν τῇ νηὶ σῶον μελεῖ· γῆ δὲ οὐκ ἀροῦται ἄνευ αὐτοῦ· σκαπανεῖς δὲ τὴν ἐργασίαν οὐ ποιοῦνται οὐδὲ βαναυσουργοὶ ὁμοίως, εἰ μὴ διὰ τῶν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο ἐχόντων ἐργαλείων. 4 τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπειον σχῆμα οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων διαφέρει, ἢ τῷ ὀρθόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἔκτασιν χειρῶν ἔχειν . . . 6 καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν δὲ σύμβολα τὴν τοῦ σχήματος τούτου δύναμιν δηλοῖ, λέγω δὲ τὰ τῶν οὐχέλλων καὶ τῶν τροπαίων, δι' ὧν αἱ τε πρόοδοι ὑμῶν πανταχοῦ γίνονται, τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως τὰ σημεῖα ἐν τούτοις δεικνύντες, εἰ καὶ μὴ νοοῦντες τοῦτο πράττετε.

² Cicero, *De natura deorum* II, 56 saw a religious symbolism in the erect posture of man: *Quae* (sc. *Providentia*) *primum eos humo excitatos celsos et erectos constituit, ut deorum cognitionem caelum intuentes capere possent.*

³ *Ad nationes* I, 12, 7 (p. 31): *Si statueris hominem manibus expansis, imaginem crucis feceris.* Cf. *De idololatria* 12, 2 (p. 1112): *Si vis Domini discipulus esse, crucem tuam tollas et Dominum sequaris necesse est, id est angustias et cruciatus tuos vel corpus solum quod in modum crucis est.*

⁴ See p. 73 and p. 145.

⁵ *De oratione* 17, 1 (p. 266): *Atqui cum modestia et humilitate adorantes magis commendabimus Deo preces nostras, ne ipsis quidem manibus sublimius elatis, sed temperate ac probe elatis.*

them more sideways, in order thus to accentuate the cross symbolism in their attitude of prayer ¹ Tertullian also saw this prayerful attitude symbolized in the flight of the birds ²

Minucius Felix writes in his *Octavius* ³ '*Crucis signum est . . . , cum homo porrectis manibus Deum pura mente veneratur*'

This cross symbolism is also evident in the attitude of prayer as we find it depicted in the oldest *Orantes* in the Roman catacombs ⁴

Not only in the human form, however, but also in the world around them the Christians saw cross symbolism in various forms

mast and yard

So in the mast and the yard of the sailing ship ⁵ As in nearly all the cases of cross symbolism, it is Justin who first draws our attention to this symbolism ⁶ 'The sea is not cleft, unless the *τρόπαιον* which is called *mast and yard in full sail* remains intact' ⁷ After Justin we find this symbolism in Minucius Felix ⁸ For him this symbol of the Cross was evidently one of the most vivid '*Signum crucis naturaliter visimus in navi, cum velis tumentibus vehitur*' Tertullian too seems to be familiar with this cross symbol ⁹ In his allegory of the ship of the

¹ *De oratione* 14 (p 265) *Nos vero non attollimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus (manus), et dominica passione modula(ta), tum et orantes confitemur Christo* Cf *Apologeticum* 30, 7 (p 142) *Paratus est ad omne supplicium ipse habitus orantis Christiani*

² *De oratione* 29, 4 (p 274) *Sed et aves tunc exsurgentes eriguntur ad caelum et alarum crucem pro manibus expandunt et dicunt aliquid quod oratio videatur*

³ CSEL 2, p 43

⁴ Cf F v D MEFR-CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Atlas of the early Christian World*, translated and edited by MARY F HEDLUND and H H ROWLEY London 1958, plates 84 (p 50), 88 (p 51)

⁵ In *Antenna crucis*, HUGO RAHNER deals penetratingly with this form of cross symbolism especially See in particular his article *Das Kreuz als Mastbaum und Antenne* in ZKTh 75 (1953), p 129-173

This form of symbolism proves to be closely connected with the *τρόπαιον*-symbol

⁶ *I Apol* 55, 3 (p 66) *θάλασσα . οὐ τέμνεται, ἢν μὴ τοῦτο τὸ τρόπαιον, δ καλεῖται ἱστῖον, ἐν ᾗ νηὶ σωὸν μένῃ*

⁷ F J DOLGER, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze*, Munster 1918, p 137 translates ἱστῖον as 'der Segelmast'

H RAHNER, *Griechische Mythen* , p 85 translates ἱστῖον as 'die Segelstange'

J CARCOPINO, *Le mystère d'un symbole chretien*, Paris 1955, p 70 translates ἱστῖον as 'le mât'

⁸ *Octavius* 29 (CSEL 2, p 43)

That not only Christians saw in the mast and yard of a ship a symbol of the cross, appears from Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, II, 53 (ed R HERCHER, p 152) ἡ κατάρτιος αὐτοῦ (i.e. τοῦ πλοίου) ὁμοία ἐστὶ σταυροῦ

⁹ *Adv Marc* III, 18, 4 (p 532) *Nam et in antenna, quae crucis pars est, extre-*

Church, Hippolytus¹ calls the mast in the middle of the ship - a symbol of the Cross - the trophy (τρόπαιον) against death. In addition, he sees² in the ladder which leads up to the yard, an image of the symbol (σημείον) of the passion of Christ, which leads the faithful to heaven.³

In the *carmen de Pascha* 7-9 of Ps. Cyprian⁴ we find a description of the tree of the Cross on Calvary, which merges into this cross symbolism:

*Arboris haec species: uno de stipite surgit
et mox in geminos extendit brachia ramos,
sicut plena graves antemnae carbasa tendunt.*

It is not clear whether or not Clement of Alexandria too saw in the symbol of the ship driven by the wind (ναῦς οὐριοδρομοῦσα) a symbol of the Cross. In *Paed.* III, 59, 2 (I, p. 270) Clement names the symbols which are fitting for Christians: 'Our seals (σφραγιῖδες) must be decorated with a dove, or a fish, or a ship sailing before a stiff breeze, or a musical lyre, such as that used by Polycrates, or the anchor which Seleucus had engraved upon his stone. If a fisherman be depicted thereupon, this will remind us of the apostle and of the children fished from the water'. To these Clement compares pagan emblems: 'Yet, beware of depicting idols, for it is unlawful even to gaze upon them. We must also avoid the sword and the bow, we who strive for peace, nor is a drinking cup suitable for those who must practise temperance'.⁵ Only for the symbol of the fisherman an explanation is given. In view of Clement's ambiguous use of ξύλον in *Protr.* 118, 4 both for the mast of Odysseus' ship and for the Cross,⁶ it seems not improbable that he also

mitates cornua vocantur. In *adv. Iud.* 10, 7 (p. 1376) we read: *Nam et in antemna navis, ...*

¹ Hippolytus, *De antichristo* 59 (Hippolytus I, 2, p. 39) φέρει δὲ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ τὸ τρόπαιον τὸ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου, ὡς τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Κυρίου μεθ' ἑαυτῆς βαστάζουσα.

² Hippolytus, *op. cit.* p. 40: κλίμαξ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἰς ὕψος ἐπὶ τὸ κέρασ ἀνάγουσα ὡς εἰκὼν σημείου πάθους Χριστοῦ.

³ We have also come across this same idea in Ignatius, *ad Eph.* 9, 1 (see p. 19) and in Irenaeus, fragment XXVI (see p. 61 f.); *Dem.* 45 (see p. 64 f.).

It is striking that in the broadly developed allegory of the ship of the Church which we find in the so-called *Epistula Clementis ad Jacobum* 14 (B. REHM-J. IRMSCHER, *Die Pseudo-Klementinen* I (GCS 42), Berlin 1953, p. 16, the Cross is not mentioned.

⁴ CSEL 3, 3, p. 305

⁵ Translation derived from F. V. D. MEER-CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Atlas* ... p. 40.

⁶ *Protr.* 118, 4 (I, p. 83): πρὸς ξύλῳ προσδεδεμένος ἀπάσης ἔσθ' τῆς φθορᾶς λελυμένος. See also p. 69

saw in this traditional symbol of the ship in full sail a symbol of the Cross.

We may, indeed, wonder if Clement saw the ship's anchor (ἄγκυρα ναυτική) as a symbol of the Cross. There seems to be no reason here to assume cross symbolism, nor does Clement himself give any explanation of this symbol in the passage quoted. In *Strom* IV, 152, 2 (II, p. 315) Clement himself calls God our anchor.¹ Hippolytus, in his above-mentioned ship allegory,² sees the ship's anchor not as a symbol of the Cross but of the commandments of Christ. There are no further indications to be found in Greek Christian literature before Clement, or in the writings of his contemporaries: neither Justin nor Irenaeus, Tertullian nor Minucius Felix speak of the anchor as a symbol of the Cross.³

τρόπαιον/*tropaeum*, οὐήξιλλον/*vexillum*, *signum*

Closely connected with the mast-yard symbol is that of the *τρόπαιον* / *tropaeum*.⁴ It is striking that both Justin⁵ and Hippolytus,⁶ when speaking of the mast-yard symbol, employ the word trophy (*τρόπαιον*), thereby linking both forms of symbolism.⁷ Justin, who also sets the example here,⁸ points out that the symbols of dominion and power so dear to the Romans (τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν σύμβολα), namely the trophies (*τρόπαια*) and the standards (*οὐήξιλλα*),⁹ demonstrate the might of the shape of the Cross (δύναμις τοῦ σχήματος τούτου) In this too Minucius

¹ Cf L EISENHOFER, *Die Siegelbildvorschläge des Klemens von Alexandrien und die älteste christliche Literatur*, in JAC 3 (1960) p 51-69

² *Op cit* 59, p 40

³ J P KIRSCH (DACL I, 2 c 1999 ff s v 'ancree' esp c 2010) suggests, referring to the Sibylline Oracles VIII, 217-250 (acrostic ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ), a link between the fish (ἰχθύς) and the cross (anchor) such as may also be found in the language of symbols of the Roman catacombs Cf F v D MEER-CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Atlas* ..., plate 461 (p. 441), compare also plates 56 (p 43), 91 (p 51)

⁴ Cf CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *A propos de deux mots controversés de la Latinité chrétienne (tropaeum-nomen)*, in VC 8 (1954) p 154 ff

⁵ *I Apol* 55, 3 (p 66) τοῦτο τὸ *τρόπαιον*, ὃ καλεῖται ἱστίον,

⁶ *De antichristo* 59 (*op cit.* p 39) τὸ *τρόπαιον* τὸ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου ... τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Κυρίου ...

⁷ This use of *τρόπαιον* in Justin and in Hippolytus is more suggestive of metaphor

⁸ *I Apol* 55, 6-7 (p 66 f)

⁹ We follow here the conjecture of J C TH OTTO, in *Justin Opera* I, 1, *ed cit* p 132, λέγω δὲ τὰ τῶν οὐήξιλλων, which is also in agreement with the text, probably derived from Justin, of Minucius Felix and Tertullian EDG J GOODSPEED, *ed cit* p 66 conjectures· ἵνα ἀμελῶμεν καὶ τῶν τροπαίων ...

Felix ¹ and Tertullian ² appear to have been good pupils. Especially Tertullian (*loc. cit.*) stresses the sacral significance which the Roman soldiers attributed to their standards.

In Tertullian, however, we also note a development in another direction. Not only is the *tropaeum* on account of its shape a symbol of the Cross, but the Cross is in its turn a *tropaeum*, a sign of victory. In *adv. Marc.* IV, 20, 5 (p. 595) he writes: '*... cum ultimo hoste, morte proeliaturus (Dominus) per tropaeum crucis triumphavit*'. Here there is no question of a visual symbol of the Cross but of a metaphorical usage of words: the Cross is the sign of victory over death.³

In Hippolytus' commentary on Daniel IV, 9 ⁴ the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of the Christians is also called a trophy over death.⁵ Origen too ⁶ employs this metaphor in a context which is associated by him with Col 2, 14 f.

This symbol of the Cross and this metaphor appear to be very closely bound up with the Greek and Roman ways of thinking.

plough and other tools

Justin, *I Apol.* 55, 3 (p. 66) mentions immediately after the symbol of the mast-yard of the ship the symbol of the plough: 'The land is not ploughed without this shape (that is, the shape of the cross)'. We must

¹ Minucius Felix (*loc. cit.*) speaks of *Signa ... cantabra et vexilla castrorum*. Of the *tropaea* he says (*ibid.*) *Tropaea vestra victricia non tantum simplicibus crucis faciem, verum et adfixi hominis imitantur*

² *Apol.* 16, 7 (p. 116) *Sed et Victorias adoratis in tropaeis, cum cruces intestina sint tropaeorum* Compare also *Ad nat.* I, 12, 14-16 (p. 32).

³ This metaphor is already implicit in Col 2, 15 'He disarmed the principalities and powers and made a public example of them, triumphing over them in it (that is, the Cross)' F J DOLGER, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit ...*, p. 138 gives the following elucidation of this text 'Das Tropaion ist das Zeichen des Triumphes über einen geschlagenen Feind, dessen Waffenrüstung am Tropaion selber aufgehängt ist. Das Kreuztropaion ist danach ähnlich zu bewerten. Der Gedanke begegnet nun völlig deutlich an unserer Stelle (2, 14 f.) des Kolossenserbriefes: Gott - Christus triumphiert im Kreuz als dem Siegeszeichen, nachdem er die Herrschaften und Mächte ihrer Waffen beraubt (ἀπεκδυσάμενος) und sie so zum Gespötte gemacht hat'

⁴ Hippolytus I, 1, p. 208 ... τὸ τρόπαιον τὸ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου ἐπὶ μετώπῳ βαστάζοντες.

⁵ We also meet this metaphor in the homily, inspired by Hippolytus' treatise on the Pasch, 51, 6 and 55, 1 See p. 207 f

⁶ *Comm. in Joh.* 20, 36 (Origenes IV, p. 376) ... 'Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ... θριαμβεύσαντος ἐν ξύλῳ, τρόπαιον κατὰ πάσης ἀντικειμένης δυνάμεως τὸν σταυρὸν στήσαντος Cf. *Idem, Hom. in Jesu Nave* 8, 3 (Origenes VII, p. 338) ... *crux illa trophaeum de diabolo fuit* In 8, 3 Origen likewise quotes Col. 2, 14.

imagine here the plough-beam, which together with the coulter and the handles of the plough represents the shape of the cross¹ This symbol was evidently not adopted by Minucius Felix and Tertullian

In Irenaeus, *adv Haer* IV, 56, 4 (II, p 272) '... *aratrum, lignum copulatum ferro*' J Daniélou sees visual cross symbolism² It seems to us, however, that *lignum* in this connection is merely a reference to the Cross³

In the application of the blessing pronounced by Jacob over Issachar (Gen 49, 14 f) to Christ, Hippolytus⁴ compares the cross of Christ to a plough

The word '*arepo*' in the famous '*sator-arepo*' square⁵ is also associated by J Daniélou⁶ and J Carcopino⁷ with the plough symbol⁸ Justin (*ibid*) sees the cross shape symbolized not only in the plough but also in tools used for digging and in general in the tools of artisans

J. Carcopino has devoted a special study to the *ascia*, an instrument for hewing or smoothing wood or stone This symbol occurs chiefly on Christian monuments in Gaul In the *ascia* Carcopino⁹ sees a *crux dissimulata*

¹ Thus J. DANIELOU in *La charrue, symbole de la Croix*, in RSR 42 (1954) p 197 *Idem*, in '*Les symboles*', ch VI, *La charrue et la hache*, p 102

Cf CHR DAREMBERG-EDM SAGLIO, *op cit*, I, 1, p 353 ff

² Cf *La charrue, symbole de la Croix*, p 193 ff

La charrue et la hache, p 95 ff

³ See p 57 ff

⁴ Hippolyte, *Bénédictions d'Isaac et de Jacob*, in PO 27, p 88 ff

⁵ Cf for literature on the '*sator-arepo* square' also F L CROSS, *The early Christian Fathers*, p 199 ff

⁶ In *La charrue, symbole de la Croix*, p 202 and in *La charrue et la hache*, p 106

⁷ J CARCOPINO, *Études d'Histoire chrétienne*, p 11 ff, *idem*, *Le mystère d'un symbole chrétien*, Paris 1955, p 72

⁸ A ERNOUT-A MEILLET, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine I*, Paris 1951³, p 80 s v *arepennis* 'arpent, à rapprocher peut-être de *arepo*' In the fourth edition (1959) they remark, however, on p 45 s v *arepo* 'Mot qui figure dans le carré magique Sans doute *opera* écrit à rebours'

In view of the uncertain etymology of *arepo* the interpretation of J Daniélou and J Carcopino seems to us very doubtful

⁹ J CARCOPINO, *Le mystère d'un symbole chrétien*, esp p 69 ff According to him the *ascia* had originally been a pagan symbol Irenaeus invested it with a Christian interpretation CARCOPINO also makes a connection between the *ascia* and the axe (ἄξιν) of Elisha (II Kings 6, 1 ff), a passage which is also linked with the Cross by Irenaeus (*adv Haer* V, 17 3-4, fragm XXVI) See p 60 ff

tau

Lucian, *Iud. voc.* 12 saw in the letter tau ¹ a symbol of the cross.² Tertullian ³ recognized cross symbolism in the 'Tau sign' from Ez. 9, 4. 6.

The Greek tau was also the symbol for the number 300. Ps. Barnabas 9, 8 (p. 21) saw in the number of the servants of Abraham who were circumcised (Gen. 17, 23; cf. Gen. 14, 14), 318 in total, a symbol of the Cross (300 = τ') and the name Jesus (10 + 8 = ι' + η').⁴

Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* VI, 84, 3-4 (II, p. 473) gives the same symbolic interpretation with regard to the number of 318 men with whose help Abraham freed his captured kinsman Lot (cf. Gen. 14, 14).⁵

According to Clement too, *Strom.* VI, 87, 2 (II, p. 475), the length of the Ark (300 cubits; cf. Gen. 6, 15) was considered in his time as a symbol of the Cross.⁶

Thus Greek Fathers here applied profane symbolism in their interpretation of Old Testament writings.

cosmic cross symbolism

In the cosmic structure too some Fathers recognized cross symbolism. We find a first indication in Justin, *I Apol.* 60, 1. 5 (p. 69), where we read: 'The cosmological discussion concerning the Son of God in the *Timaeus* of Plato ⁷ when the latter says: "He (*i.e.* the Demiurge) placed Him in the form of the letter Chi (ἐχίλασεν αὐτόν) in the Universe", he borrowed in like manner from Moses'.⁸ Justin translates this cosmic symbolism of Plato into cross typology. According to Justin, Plato read in the Book of Numbers (21, 4 ff.) of the setting up of the brazen serpent; then Justin continues: 'He did not, however, apprehend that it was a figure of the Cross (τύπος σταυροῦ) but taking it to be a placing in the form of an X, he said that the Power (δύναμις)

¹ Cf. H. RAHNER, *Antenna crucis V, Das mystische Tau*, in ZKTh 75 (1953) p. 385-400.

² See p. 5. ³ See p. 148 ff.

⁴ See p. 23.

⁵ See p. 140 f.

⁶ See p. 141 f.

⁷ Plato, *Timaeus* 36 BC (cf. 34 AB).

⁸ Plato meant the cosmic Soul which he saw symbolized in the lines of the equator and the ecliptic which cross each other to form an X (= Greek Chi). Justin (*loc. cit.*) identifies the Son of God with Plato's cosmic Soul.

Cf. W. BOUSSET, *Platons Weltseele und das Kreuz Christi*, in ZNW 14 (1913) p. 273 ff. H. RAHNER, *Griechische Mythen . . .*, p. 77 ff. ED. STOMMEL, Σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως in RQ 48 (1953) p. 35 ff.; ER. DINKLER, *Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz*, in JAC V (1962) p. 102 f.

next to the first God was placed in the form of an X in the Universe'.¹

Irenaeus, *Dem.* 34 (p. 69 f.) sees a parallelism in symbolism between Christ's cross and the activity of the Word of God in Creation: 'And because He is Himself the Word of God Almighty, Who in His invisible form pervades us universally in the whole world, and encompasses both its length and breadth and height and depth – for by God's Word everything is disposed and administered – the Son of God was also crucified in these (that is, in these dimensions), imprinted in the form of a cross in the Universe. For He had necessarily, in becoming visible, to bring to light the universality of His cross, in order to show openly through His visible form that activity of His; that it is He who makes bright the height, that is, what is in heaven, and holds the depth, that is, what is in the bowels of the earth, and stretches forth and extends the length from East to West, navigating also the Northern parts and the breadth of the South, and calling in all the dispersed from all sides to the knowledge of the Father'. This text from the *Demonstratio* clarifies also the parallelism between cosmological and soteriological symbolism in *adv. Haer.* V, 18, 2 (II, p. 374 f.): '*Mundi enim factor vere Verbum Dei est, ... in universa conditione infixus, quoniam Verbum Dei, gubernans et disponens omnia; et propter hoc in sua visibiliter venit, et caro factum est et pependit super lignum, ut universa in semetipso recapituletur*'. Here, however, the parallelism between cosmological and soteriological symbolism is clearly linked with the idea of the *recapitulatio*.² Although Irenaeus does not mention his source, we may nevertheless assume that in *Dem.* 34 he is referring back to Plato, perhaps via Justin. The quotation from *Dem.* 34 also suggests the influence of Eph. 3, 18.³

¹ Our translation of Justin, *I Apol.* 60, 1. 5 is inspired by that of A. C. COXE in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers I*, New York 1905 (American reprint of the Edinburgh Edition) p. 183.

It is interesting to mention here that according to Philo, *De somniis* II, 6 (III, p. 266), the Creator impressed the Logos as His divine seal upon the cosmos: (ὁ Θεός) ἀσχημάτιστον οὖσαν τὴν τῶν πάντων οὐσίαν ἐσχημάτισε καὶ ἀτύπων ἐτύπωσε καὶ ἀποιον ἐμόρφωσε καὶ τελειώσας τὸν ὅλον ἐσφράγισε κόσμον εἰκόνη καὶ ἰδέα, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ Λόγῳ.

Cf. also *De opificio mundi* 6, 25 (I, p. 8).

² See p. 61.

³ Cf. H. RAHNER, *Griechische Mythen* ..., p. 79: 'In den vier Dimensionen der sich querenden Kreuzhölzer sieht der antike Christ in kühnem Weiterdenken des Paulinischen Wortes (Eph. 3, 18) die vier Dimensionen der Kosmos wie in einem mystischen Symbol angedeutet'.

Origen, *Hom. in Gen.* II, 5 (Origenes VI, p. 33) speaks plainly of the cross symbolism of Eph. 3, 18: '*Apostolus in quodam loco, cum de mysterio crucis*

Concluding remarks

In how far are we here concerned with religious symbolism? In *I Apol.* 55 Justin wishes to make it clear, by the use of examples derived from the visible world, that the cross form is the basis of everything in this world (ch. 55, 2). Here we can only speak of religious symbolism in a very broad sense, and there is no question of it in Minucius Felix *Octavius* 29: '*Cruces etiam nec colimus nec optamus*'.¹ At any rate, it appears from the texts quoted that the Christians were in no way adorers of the Cross, as their pagan opponents suggested. Also Tertullian's argumentation in both *Apol.* 16, 6-8 and in *Ad nat.* I, 12 is based upon the theme: '*Sed et qui crucis religiosos nos putet, consecratus erit noster*'.² It is, moreover, understandable that neither Justin nor Minucius Felix nor Tertullian wished to speak of his own religious symbols to his pagan readers.³ That c. 200 A.D. the Christians possessed their own religious symbolism seems undeniable. This fact is suggested by a text of Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 9, 24: '*Occultis se notis et insignibus noscunt (i.e. Christiani)*'. The text quoted of Clement of Alexandria on Christian symbols also points in this direction. The inscription of Abercius and the wording of the inscription of Pectorius presuppose an extensive Christian language of symbols which we find illustrated in the symbols of the Roman catacombs. It seems to us an indisputable fact that the typological interpretation of the Old Testament had a great influence upon this symbolism.

sacratius loqueretur, ita ait: "Ut sciat, quae sit longitudo et latitudo et profundum, ..."

¹ CSEL 2, p. 43.

² *Apol.* 16, 6; cf. *Ad nat.* I, 12, 1.

³ The following text (*Cat.* 6, 29) of Cyril of Jerusalem is worthy of mention in this connection (PG 33, c. 589): Ταῦτα τὰ μυστήρια, ἃ νῦν ἡ ἐκκλησία διηγείται σοι τῷ ἐκ κατηχουμένων μεταβαλλομένῳ, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕθους ἐθνικοῖς διηγείσθαι. Οὐ γὰρ ἐθνικῶς τὰ περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος διηγούμεθα μυστήρια, οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐπὶ κατηχουμένοις λευκῶς λαλοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ πόλλα πολλάκις λέγομεν ἐπικεκαλυμμένως, ἵνα οἱ εἰδότες πιστοὶ νοήσωσι, καὶ οἱ μὴ εἰδότες μὴ βλαβῶσι.

⁴ CSEL 2, p. 13.

THE EULOGY ON THE CROSS IN THE PASCHAL
HOMILY INSPIRED BY HIPPOLYTUS' *περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα*

We refer here to the eulogy on the Cross incorporated in the Paschal homily which is probably inspired by Hippolytus' treatise on the Pasch, and which has been edited by P. Nautin.¹

Without engaging ourselves in the problems concerning the authorship and dating of this homily,² we wish to examine the eulogy on the Cross (ch. 50–ch. 51) from the point of view of cross terminology and at the same time for its themes. What we wish to learn is to what degree does this eulogy, considered for its terminology and themes, concur with the picture already obtained from early Christian literature.

The construction of this homily is as follows.³ After an introduction (ch. 1–ch. 8) in which subject and division are indicated, the first section (ch. 9–ch. 42) deals with the prefigurative significance of the Jewish Law and the Jewish Passover, the second section (ch. 43–ch. 61) with the Coming of Christ and His passion, in conclusion there follows a peroration (ch. 62–ch. 63).

ch. 49 (p. 175). Chapter 49 is in a sense an introduction to this eulogy. Alluding to Jesus' words in Luke 22, 15, 'I have earnestly desired to eat this Pasch with you before I suffer',⁴ the author says 'That was

¹ P. NAUTIN, *Une homélie inspirée du traité sur la Pâque d'Hippolyte* (SC 27), Paris 1950. We shall quote this homily according to text and page in this edition.

² For literature concerning author and dating we can refer to

CH. MARTIN, *Un *περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα* de saint Hippolyte retrouvé?* in RSR 16 (1926) p. 148–165.

Idem, *Fragments palimpsestes d'un discours sur la Pâque attribuée à saint Hippolyte de Rome*, in *Mélanges François Cumont*, vol. I, p. 321–363 (1936).

Idem, *Hippolyte de Rome et Proclus de Constantinople*, in RHE 33 (1937) p. 255–276.

R. H. CONNOLLY, *New attributions to Hippolytus*, in JThS 46 (1945) p. 192–200.

P. NAUTIN, *op. cit.* p. 33–57.

³ P. NAUTIN, *op. cit.* p. 67.

⁴ In view of the word-play which the author makes upon this text, we give here

the Pasch that Jesus desired to suffer (παθεῖν) for us; by suffering He freed us from suffering, by death He conquered death, and through the visible food He granted us eternal Life'.¹

The first thing that strikes us in this sentence is the word-play παθεῖν τὸ πάσχα, compared with the expression in Luke 22, 15 φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα. We find this same word-play in Hippolytus, in a fragment from his περὶ τοῦ πάσχα.² Like Hippolytus our anonymous author suggests a connection between πάσχα and πάσχειν. This link between the Aramaic *Pashā'* and the Greek πάσχειν was, however, not Hippolytus' own discovery.³ We already find this pseudo-etymological explanation: πάσχα . . . ἐκ τοῦ παθεῖν in Melito's Paschal homily 46 (p. 115). The link is also stressed in Irenaeus⁴ and Tertullian.⁵

Lk. 22, 15 in Greek ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν

That the author here makes an intentional play upon words appears from *Hom* 4 (p. 123) where he quotes Lk. 22, 15 literally

¹ Τοῦτο ἦν τὸ πάσχα ὃ ἐπεθύμησεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς παθεῖν· πάθει πάθους ἡλευθέρωσε καὶ θανάτῳ θάνατον ἐνίκησε καὶ διὰ τῆς βλεπομένης τροφῆς τὴν ἀθάνατον αὐτοῦ ζῶν ἐχορήγησεν

² In the *Chronicon Paschale* I (7th century) the following text of Hippolytus' περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα is preserved (ed. L. DINDORF I, p. 13, fragment V in H. ACHELIS, Hippolytus I, 2 (GCS I), Leipzig 1897, p. 270 . . . καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς (i.e. Ἰππόλυτος) ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πάσχα συγγράμματος εἰρηκεν οὕτως· οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑσχάτοις ὡς οὐκ ἐψεύσατο πρόδηλον, ὅτι ὁ πάλαι προειπὼν ὅτι "οὐκέτι φάγομεν τὸ Πάσχα" (Lk. 22, 15) εἰκότως τὸ μὲν δεῖπνον ἐδείπνησε πρὸ τοῦ Πάσχα, τὸ δὲ Πάσχα οὐκ ἔφαγεν, ἀλλ' ἔπαθεν' According to Hippolytus Christ did not eat of the Paschal lamb but suffered 'the Pasch'

³ Cf. CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, *Pascha, Passio, Transitus*, in *Études* I², p. 205-222 Cf. also ODO CASEL, *Art und Sinn der ältesten christlichen Osterfeier*, in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 14 (1938) p. 1-78

⁴ *Adv. Haer.* IV, 20, 4 (II, p. 173) *Et non est numerum dicere in quibus a Moyse ostenditur Filius Dei: cuius et diem passionis non ignoravit, sed figuratim praenuntiavit eum, Pascha nominans et in eadem ipsa, quae ante tantum temporis a Moyse praedicata est, passus est Dominus adimplens Pascha.* *Dem.* 25 (p. 64) 'From this He saved the children of Israel, showing forth in a mystery the passion of Christ, by the immolation of a spotless lamb, and by its blood, given as a guarantee of immunity to be smeared on the houses of the Hebrews, and the name of this mystery is "Passion", source of freedom' Smith himself translates 'the Passover' instead of 'Passion', but remarks on p. 163 'The manuscript has *kirk*, apparently an attempt to render πάσχα in the sense of "passion", as if connected with πάσχειν'

FROIDEVAUX, *ed. cit.* p. 71 f. translates 'Et le nom de ce mystère est *Pathos*, cause de libération'

In the same sense S. G. Wilson in *PO* XII, p. 679 'The name of this sacrament is Passion, which is the cause of deliverance'.

⁵ *Adv. Iud.* 10, 18 (p. 1380) *Hoc enim et Moyses initio primi mensis (die) novorum facturos vos prophetavit, dum omne vulgus synagogae filiorum Israel ad*

Clement of Alexandria does not expressly mention this etymological derivation, as appears from a fragment of his *περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα*.¹

To the best of our knowledge, Origen was the first to oppose this etymological explanation which was traditional in his time. In a fragment of his *περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα*, published by P. Nautin² Origen makes a stand against this generally held opinion, and points out that Pascha must in reality be derived from the Hebrew word *pash*, which must be translated in Greek by *διάβασις*. This *διάβασις*, according to Origen, refers to the exodus of the Jews from Egypt.³

That, however, *πάσχα* contained for the author not only a reference to the Passion but also an allusion to the Eucharist, is evident from the following sentence: 'The salutary desire, the completely spiritual Love of Jesus consisted in this: to show that the figures were (only) figures (τύποι ὡς τύποι) and to give in their stead His Sacred Body to His disciples'.⁴ Then follow the words with which the Eucharist was instituted: 'Take, eat, this is My Body; take, drink, this is My Blood, the New Covenant, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins'.⁵

From what follows it is apparent that the author traces back the *πάσχα* as the Eucharistic Gifts to the passion unto death of Jesus, and that this last meaning of *πάσχα* was for him dominant: 'Therefore He

vesperam agnum esse immolaturum . . . praecinebat et adiecit pascha esse Domini, id est passionem Christi, quod ita quoque adimpletum est'

¹ *Chronicon Paschale I* (ed L DINDORF, p 14 f, incorporated as a fragment in O STAHLIN, *Clemens Alexandrinus III*, p 216 f. (fragm 28) . . . πέπονθε δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, αὐτὸς ὢν τὸ πάσχα, καλλιερηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

² Among the papyri found at Toura (near Cairo) in 1941, is also a *περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα* of Origen. An edition is being prepared by O GUÉRAUD. In his *Homélies pascales II, trois homélies dans la tradition d'Origène* (SC 36), Paris 1953, P NAUTIN has included a fragment of this work of Origen, dealing with the meaning of the word *πάσχα*

³ We give here a section of the above-mentioned fragment of this work of Origen, taken from P NAUTIN, *op cit* p 35 οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείστοι τῶν ἀδ(ελ)φῶν, τάχα δὲ καὶ οἱ πάντ(ες), τὴν ὀνομασίαν λαμβάν(ουσι) τοῦ πάσχα παρὰ τὸ πάθο(ς το)ῦ Σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ος) κεκληθῆναι τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πάσχα Πάσχα δὲ (κυρι)ῶς καθ' Ἑβραίους οὐ καλεῖτ(αι) ἡ ἑορτὴ ἡ προκειμένη, ἀλλ(ὰ) φας, . . . (ὁ) περ, εἰ ἐρμηνευ(θ)εῖν, ἔστι (δι)-άβασις· ἐπ(ε)ὶ (γ)ὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ (ἐο)ρτῇ ὁ λάος ἐξ Α(λγυπτου) ἐξ(έρχ)εται, ἀκολουθῶς φ(ας) κα(λ)εῖ(ται, τοῦτ' ἔστι) διάβασις(ις).

⁴ Αὕτη ἡ σωτήριος ἐπιθυμία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, οὗτος ὁ ἔρωσ ὁ πνευματικώτατος, δεῖξαι μὲν τοὺς τύπους ὡς τύπους, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν σῶμα τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἀντιδοῦναι

⁵ Λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτό ἐστι μου τὸ σῶμα· λάβετε, πῖετε, τοῦτό ἐστι μου τὸ αἷμα, ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη, τὸ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφρεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν Cf. Mt. 26, 26 ff., Mk 14, 22 ff.; Lk 22, 19 f., 1 Cor. 11, 24 f.

did not desire so much to eat (the Pasch) as to suffer (it), in order thus to free us from the suffering brought about by eating'.¹

ch. 50 (p. 177): This idea: to free us from the suffering brought about by eating (τοῦ διὰ βρώσεως πάθους) has led the writer back to the earthly Paradise. We can thus explain (διὰ τοῦτο) that here the Cross is contrasted with the tree of Knowledge, a theme familiar since Irenaeus²: 'And therefore He planted a Tree (ξύλον) in place of the tree (ξύλον) (of Knowledge)'.³ The vague manner in which this theme is indicated here suggests that it was already familiar.

The idea expressed in the second part of this sentence: 'and instead of the wicked hand of old, which had extended itself in a sinful gesture, He allowed His own spotless hand to be nailed in a gesture of Love'⁴ is linked with this same antithesis. This antithesis is now personal, however. No longer is the tree of the Cross compared with the tree of Knowledge but Christ is compared with Adam.

We find this same idea in the *passio Andreae* 5 (II, 1, p. 12)⁵: 'The Son of God ... stretched out His spotless hands on the Cross for the sake of the hands which of their own free will had stretched out (towards the forbidden fruit)'.

In the last part of this first sentence Christ, hanging on the Cross, is seen as the fruit of the Cross-tree: 'so He showed that in His person the full Life truly hung (on the tree of the Cross)'.⁶ This metaphor implies that in the mind of the author the Cross is the tree of Life.⁷

That we are indeed concerned here with the tree of Life, whose fruit grants immortality, is confirmed by the following sentence: 'You,

¹ Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ τοσοῦτον φαγεῖν ὅσον ἐπιθυμεῖ παθεῖν, ἐν' ἡμᾶς τοῦ διὰ βρώσεως πάθους ἐλευθερώσῃ

The word-play φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα – παθεῖν τὸ πάσχα is one of the points indicating the indebtedness of our author to Hippolytus

² See p. 60 f.

³ Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ξύλον ξύλω ἀντιρριζώσας, . . .

⁴ καὶ τὴν πάλαι πονηρὰν χεῖρα ἀσεβῶς ἐκταθεῖσαν . . . τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀχραντον εὐσεβῶς προσηλώσας, . . . P. NAUTIN assumes a lacuna in the MSS. We follow his translation (p. 176)

⁵ . . . ἐκτείνῃ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τὰς ἀχράντους χεῖρας ὑπὲρ χειρῶν ἐκουσίως ἐκτεταμένων (*prima recensio*)

⁶ . . . ὅλην ἔδειξεν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀληθῶς τὴν ζωὴν κρεμαμένην

⁷ This theme: the Cross as the tree of Life was already met with in Ignatius, *ad Trall.* 11, 2 (see p. 20 f.), in Justin, *Dial.* 86, 1 (see p. 39 f.) and in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* V, 72, 2 (see p. 70 f.) Tertullian too, *adv. Iud.* 13, 11 (p. 1387) may be assumed to be familiar with this theme: "'Et lignum", inquit, "tulit fructum suum" (cf. Ps. 1, 3, Joel 2, 22), non illud lignum in paradiso quod mortem dedit protoplastis, sed lignum passionis Christi, unde vita pendens vobis credita non est' (see p. 89).

Israel, were not able to eat of it, but we have eaten of it with a spiritual, everlasting knowledge, and because we have eaten of it, we shall not die'.¹ Thus immortality is here made dependent on the eating of the fruit of the tree of Life.

In this chapter, therefore, we find on the one hand the opposition between the Cross and the tree of Knowledge and on the other the analogy of the Cross with the tree of Life.

ch. 51 (p. 177 f.): In chapter 51 there follows a digression on the Cross as the tree of Life.

51, 1: 'This (tree) is for me a plant (φυτόν) unto eternal salvation, with it I feed myself, with it I am nourished'.² In the expression 'a plant unto eternal salvation' (φυτόν εἰς σωτηρίαν αἰώνιον) we find a new indication for the Cross as the tree of Life. We have not previously come across the word φυτόν as a metaphor for the Cross. It is to be considered here as a stylistic variation.

51, 2: 'Under its roots I take root, I stretch myself out with its branches, with its dew I am brightly gleaming, with its breath I am, to my great joy, cultivated as by the wind'.³ Here the author compares himself to a tree (cf. Ps. 1, 3), entwined root and branch with the tree of the Cross, moistened by its dew, cultivated by its breath. The attachment of the Christian to the Cross, expressed in this metaphor, is, like the audacious use of words (ὑπορριζοῦμαι, γεωργοῦμαι), unknown in the literature previously discussed.

51, 3: The author now abandons this metaphor and sees himself as a person who has found in the shadow of the Cross-tree protection from the burning heat: 'I have set up my tent in its shadow and, fleeing from the burning heat, I have (found) an abode full of dew'.⁴

51, 4: The author returns to the metaphor of *ch. 51, 2*: 'With its blossom I bloom'.⁵ The rest of the sentence, however, is again on a personal note: ... its fruits are my greatest joy; I eat unhindered (ἀκωλύτως) of the fruits which have been preserved for me from the beginning (ἐξ ἀρχῆς).⁶ The expression 'from the beginning' is again an

¹ Σὺ μέν, ὦ Ἰσραὴλ, οὐκ ἐδυνήθης φαγεῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ γνώσεως ἀκαταλύτου πνευματικῆς ἐφάγομεν καὶ φάγοντες οὐκ ἀποθνήσκομεν.

² Τοῦτο μοι φυτόν εἰς σωτηρίαν αἰώνιον, τοῦτω τρέφομαι, τοῦτω συνεσιτῶμαι.

³ Τοῦτου ταῖς μέν ρίζαις ὑπορριζοῦμαι, τοῖς δὲ κλάδοις συνεκτείνομαι, τῇ δὲ δρόσῳ παιδρύνομαι, τῷ δὲ πνεύματι ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνέμου ἐντρυφῶν γεωργοῦμαι.

⁴ Τοῦτου τῇ σκιᾷ ὑπεσκήνωσα καὶ τὸν πολὺν καύσωνα διαφυγὼν ἐνδροσὸν ἔχω κατὰγειον.

⁵ Τοῦτου τοῖς μέν ἄνθεσι συνανθῶ, ...

⁶ τοῖς δὲ καρποῖς τελείως συνήδομαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μοι τετηρημένους καρποὺς ἀκωλύτως τρυγῶ.

indication that the Cross is the tree of Life. The expression 'unhindered' may also be associated with this idea.¹

51, 5: 'This (tree) is my food when I am hungry, a spring when I am thirsty; a covering for my nakedness, its leaves breathe life, no longer have I need of the leaves of the fig-tree'.² The eating of the fruit of the tree of Knowledge caused the first man to cover his nakedness with the leaves of the fig-tree (cf Gen. 3, 7), a striking symbol of the loss of original innocence. Hippolytus calls the φύλλα συκῆς a symbol of sin.³ For our author the leaves of the fig-tree are a symbol of death. He wishes to cover his nakedness with the leaves of the Cross-tree which breathe life.

51, 6: 'When I fear God, (the Cross) is my protection (φυλακτήριον), when I falter, my stay (στήριγμα), when I contend, my prize (βραβεῖον), when I have conquered, my trophy (τρόπαιον)'.⁴ In this passage we find four names used as metaphors for the Cross: φυλακτήριον, στήριγμα, βραβεῖον, τρόπαιον. We shall successively examine them more closely: φυλακτήριον: We have not come across this word before in our research.⁵ It is worth noting that it seldom occurs in Christian literature, at least in the first centuries. The Septuagint does not use it either. In the New Testament we find it employed of the 'tefillin' of the Jews, mentioned

¹ Cf. Gen 3, 22 24

² Τοῦτό μοι πεινῶντι τροφή, καὶ διψῶντι πηγὴ, καὶ σκέπη γεγυμνωμένω, οὐ καὶ τὰ φύλλα πνεῦμα ζωῆς, οὐκέτι μοι φύλλα συκῆς

³ *Comm in Gen* 3, 7 (Hippolytus I, 2, fragm 5, p 53) φύλλα συκῆς ἐποίει ἑαυτοῦ περιζώματα, σύμβολα τῶν ἰδίων ἀμαρτημάτων

Irenaeus, *adv Haer* III, 35, 1 (II, p 128) sees the *folia ficulnea* with which Adam covered his nakedness as a proof of his repentance and penance 'Etenim per succinctorium in facto suam ostendit paenitentiam, foliis ficulneis semetipsum contegens, exsistentibus et aliis multis foliis quae minus eius corpus vexare potuissent Condignum tamen inobedientiae amictum fecit, conterritus timore Dei; et retundens petulantem carnis impetum, quoniam indolem et puerilem amiserat sensum et in cogitationem peiorum venerat, frenum continentiae sibi et uxori suae circumdedit, timens Deum et adventum eius exspectans, et velut tale quid significans Quoniam, inquit, eam quam habui a Spiritu sanctitatis stolam amisi per inobedientiam, et nunc cognosco quod sum dignus tali tegumento, quod delectationem quidem nullam praestat, mordet autem et pungit corpus Et hoc videlicet semper habuisset indumentum, humilians semetipsum, nisi Dominus qui est misericors tunicas pelliceas pro foliis ficulneis induisset eos' Tertullian, *De pud* 6, 15 (p 1291) sees the *prurigo* as a result of the *folia ficulnea* 'Adhuc in Adam deputabatur (i.e. caro) cum suo vitio, facile quod speciosum viderat concupiscens et ad inferiora respiciens et de ficulneis foliis pruriginem retinens' (cf *De anima* 38, 2)

⁴ Τοῦτό μοι Θεὸν φοβούμενω φυλακτήριον, καὶ σκευόμενω στήριγμα, καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενω βραβεῖον, καὶ τρόπαιον νενικηκότι

⁵ Cf F J DOLGER, *Das Anhangkreuzchen der heiligen Makrina und ihr Ring mit der Kreuzpartikel*, in AC 3 (1932), p 81-116

E ECKSTEIN-J H WASZINK, in RAC I, c 397-411 s v 'Amulett'

in Mt. 23, 5. It does not appear from the context that Christ alluded here to magical practices,¹ although the word φυλακτήριον in Mt. 23, 5 presumably caused Greek readers to make that association.² It is indeed true that the word φυλακτήριον occurs repeatedly in Greek magical papyri.³ It does not appear in the Apostolic Fathers. Of the Apologists, Justin is the only one to employ it, and that in *Dial.* 46, 5 (p. 144): 'Moses commanded you (*i.e.* the Jews) to put on a φυλακτήριον with certain texts, written upon very thin parchment, something which we undoubtedly consider as sacred (ἃ πάντως ἅγια νοοῦμεν εἶναι)'.⁴ Justin's interpretation of this custom shows no trace whatever of magic: 'By this he exhorted you always to think of God . . .'

The only place in early Christian literature, besides Justin, where φυλακτήριον occurs is in Clement of Alexandria, *Quis dives* 42, 4 (III, p. 180): ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος (*i.e.* John) ἀναλαβὼν οἴκαδε τὸν παραδοθέντα νεανίσκον ἔτρεφε, συνεῖχε, ἔθαλπε, τὸ τελευταῖον ἐφώτισε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπῆκε τῆς πλείονος ἐπιμελείας καὶ παραφυλακῆς, ὥς τὸ τέλειον αὐτῷ φυλακτήριον ἐπιστήσας, τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ Κυρίου. The term φυλακτήριον is employed here of ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ Κυρίου, which is evidently (*cf.* ἐφώτισε) a reference to Baptism. The words ἐπιμελεία and παραφυλακή indicate that the meaning of φυλακτήριον must be sought primarily in the sphere of 'protection'.

It is apparent from this survey that φυλακτήριον occurs sporadically in early Christian literature. Is it the aura of magic surrounding this word which caused it to be avoided? ⁵ When Justin employs φυλακτήριον, however, the idea of magic is absent from his mind, and when

¹ W. BAUER, *op. cit.*, c. 1716 *s.v.* φυλακτήριον gives as a translation of φυλακτήριον in Mt. 23, 5: 'das Schutzmittel', and adds the explanation: 'Als Bezeichnung für die Gebetsriemen der Juden, die man als Schutzmittel gegen dämonische Einflüsse, d.h. als Amulette ansah'.

² H. STRACK-P. BILLERBECK, *op. cit.* IV (1928), p. 250: 'In Wirklichkeit bedeutet φυλακτήριον "Schutzmittel" (Amulett)'.

³ Cf. H. LESÈTRE, DB V, c. 350 *f. s.v.* 'phylactères'.

⁴ Cf. K. PREISENDANZ, *Papyri Graecae Magicae, Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, Leipzig-Berlin, vol. I 1928, vol. 2 1931. We find the word φυλακτήριον employed, among other places, in nos. I, 275; III, 96 *f.*; 126 *f.*; IV, 86; 660; 708; 1071; 2506; 2510; 2695; 2705 *f.*; XIII, 796.

⁵ Justin is probably referring here to the small box attached to the phylactery, which contained four texts from the Pentateuch, written on parchment, namely, Ex. 13, 1 *ff.*; 13, 11 *ff.*; Deut. 6, 4 *ff.*; 11, 13 *ff.*

⁶ Cf. Canon 36 of the *concilium Laodicenum*, mentioned in E. J. JONKERS, *Acta et Symbola conciliorum, quae saeculo quarto habita sunt (textus minores XIX)*, Leiden 1954, p. 92: ὅτι οὐ δεῖ . . . ποιεῖν τὰ λεγόμενα φυλακτήρια, ἅτινα εἰσι δεισιματήρια τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν. Τοὺς δὲ φοροῦντας βίπτεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκελεύσαμεν.

Clement uses the word for Baptism, any magical connotation can hardly be intended.

The author of this homily himself employs φυλακτήριον on two other occasions: in ch. 2, 2 (p. 119), where he says of the sign of blood on the door-posts of the Jews in Egypt: αἵματος ἐκεῖ τὸ σημεῖον καὶ τὸ ὀλίγον τοῦ πάντος φυλακτήριον. Any magical connotation seems to be excluded in view of the addition: 'τοῦ πάντος' (i.e. the Universe; cf. ch. 51, 9).

In ch. 15, 2 (p. 143), with reference to Ex. 12, 13, the author likewise speaks of the sign of blood: τὸ μὲν οὖν "αἷμα ὡς σημεῖον" φυλακτήριον. The text of Ex. 12, 13 quoted by the author in ch. 15, 1 gives as the primary meaning of the sign of blood the protection of Yahweh (σκεπάσω ὑμᾶς).

In the text under discussion (ch. 51, 6) the meaning of φυλακτήριον is defined rather more closely by the Θεὸν φοβουμένῳ. The fear of God is a condition, if the Cross is to be a φυλακτήριον. This is also an indication that the magical aura is absent here from the mind of the author.

Cyril of Jerusalem² calls the sign of the cross (ἡ σφραγίς) a μέγα φυλακτήριον, a σημεῖον πιστῶν καὶ φόβος δαιμόνων.

Gregory of Nyssa³ calls the cross which his sister, saint Macrina, wore around her neck: τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ φυλακτήριον.

From the texts quoted we must conclude that, apparently, the aura of magic surrounding φυλακτήριον was not so strong that Christians were strictly prohibited to use it.

στήριγμα: 'When I falter, this (Cross) is my support (τοῦτό μοι . . . σαλευομένῳ στήριγμα). The word στήριγμα has here⁴ in its connection with σαλευομένῳ the meaning 'prop' or 'support' in a metaphorical sense. It also occurs in this meaning in the Septuagint.⁵ It is absent, however, from the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers. Among the Apologists we come across it only once in Justin, *Dial.* 34, 5 (p. 129) in a quotation from Ps. 71, 16. Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* III, 11 (II, p. 47) uses it in a metaphorical sense of the Gospel: στῦλος δὲ καὶ στήριγμα ἐκκλησίας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.⁶ In the hymn to Christ at the close of his

¹ P. NAUTIN, *op. cit.*, translates in ch. 2, 2 (p. 118) and ch. 15, 2 (p. 142): 'phylactère', in ch. 51, 6 (p. 176) 'protection'.

² *Cat.* 13, 36 (PG 33, c. 816).

³ *De vita sanctae Macrinae* (PG 46, c. 989).

⁴ Cf., however, ch. 51, 9.

⁵ Among others, Tobit 8, 6; Sirach 3, 31; 34, 15 f.; 49, 15.

⁶ The Latin translation reads: '*Columna autem et firmamentum Ecclesiae est Evangelium*'. Cf. *adv. Haer.* IV, 35, 3 (II, p. 227): '*Duodecastylum firmamentum Ecclesiae*' (said of the apostles).

Paedagogus (III, 101, 3; Stählin I, p. 291) Clement of Alexandria calls Christ 'the Support in trials' (Στήριγμα πόνων).

In ch. 34 (p. 157) our author employs the expression στήριγμα ἀχώλευτα, of the sandals mentioned in Ex. 12, 11. There too στήριγμα has its usual meaning.

βραβεῖον: 'This is, when I contend, my prize (τοῦτό μοι . . . ἀγωνιζομένῳ βραβεῖον)'. With this word the writer transposes his metaphor to the domain of the Greek agonistic terminology. A striking fact is that the word βραβεῖον occurs seldom in profane literature and then only in the post-classical period.¹ It does not occur at all in the Septuagint. In the New Testament ² we find it twice in Paul: in 1 Cor. 9, 24 for the prize for a race and in Phil. 3, 14 where Paul speaks of his race towards the goal; the prize consists of God's call to heaven. In the Apostolic Fathers we find βραβεῖον used only twice: in 1 *Clem.* 5, 5 (p. 38) where Paul is mentioned for having gained in his life the prize for patience (ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον) and in the *Martyrium Polycarpi* 17, 1 (p. 129) where βραβεῖον is employed of the martyr's crown.

In Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos* 33, 4 (p. 299) we see it used as a reward for 'evil-doing'. Irenaeus too is familiar with the use of βραβεῖον. In *adv. Haer.* III, 19, 2 (II, p. 95) we read: '*Quia enim non erat possibile eum hominem qui semel victus fuerat et elisus per inobedientiam replasmare et obtinere bravium victoriae, . . .*' The Latin *bravium* here is certainly based on the Greek βραβεῖον. Irenaeus may be alluding to 1 Cor. 9, 24, a text which he quotes in *adv. Haer.* IV, 61, 1 (II, p. 290): '*Nescitis, quoniam hi qui in stadio currunt, omnes quidem currunt, sed unus accipit bravium*'. Clement of Alexandria, *Quis dives* I, 4 (III, p. 160) says of him who possesses Truth and excels in good works: 'He alone shall gain the prize (βραβεῖον) which consists of eternal Life'. In the Acts of John 67 (II, 1, p. 183) we find the same metaphor as in Paul: ὁ ἐν σταδίῳ δρόμον ὑπισχνούμενος τότε ἀγαλλέσθω, ὅπταν τὸ βραβεῖον κομίσῃται. Tertullian too, *Ad martyras* 3, 3 (p. 5) adopts this 'Pauline' metaphor in his exhortations to the '*martyres designati*' and elaborates it further. This text is interesting on account of the many Graecisms, which at the same time make it plain how strong the influence of the Greek agonistic terminology still was in Tertullian: '*Bonum agonem subituri estis, in quo agonothetes Deus vivus est, xystarches Spiritus Sanctus, corona aeternitatis, bravium angelicae substantiae*'.

¹ Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES, *op. cit.* c. 327 s.v. βραβεῖον.

² Cf. ThW I, p. 636 f. s.v. βραβεῖον (E. STAUFFER).

In none of the cases quoted is βραβεῖον employed in connection with the Cross, as in this homily.

Another factor must also be taken into consideration. If, with φυλακτήριον and στήριγμα the author may have been thinking of the Cross itself, this does not seem likely in the case of βραβεῖον. He must have had in mind the final Redemption as the prize to be gained after fighting the good fight.¹ The Cross as βραβεῖον is for him the symbol of this final Redemption.

τρόπαιον: 'When I have conquered, this (Cross) is my trophy (τοῦτό μοι . . . τρόπαιον νενικηκότι)'. In our first appendix we have already discussed τρόπαιον as a visual symbol of the Cross, at the same time pointing out the transition from symbol to metaphor.² The word τρόπαιον does not occur in the New Testament or in the Apostolic Fathers. Justin is the only one of the Apologists to employ it, which he does in connection with the symbolism of the Cross.³ Melito, *Hom* 21 (p. 97) uses it with reference to the death of the first-born in Egypt. Clement of Alexandria, *Quis dives* 42, 15 (III, p. 190) employs it of the Resurrection.

As we have already seen⁴ not only Justin but also Tertullian, Hippolytus and Origen are familiar with the word τρόπαιον as a metaphor for the Cross. Hippolytus, in addition, has τρόπαιον for the sign of the cross.⁵

Our author also employs τρόπαιον in ch. 55, 1 (p. 183), where he says of Christ, hanging on the Cross: 'He remained planted in the frontier region of the universe, bringing in Himself in triumph a trophy of victory (τρόπαιον ἐπινίκιον) against the enemy'.⁶ P. Nautin⁷ applies τρόπαιον in ch. 55, 1 to the Person of Christ Himself (cf. αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ). We are, nevertheless, inclined to wonder whether the writer is not alluding to the cross-position of the crucified Christ and whether it is not precisely this cross-position which has conjured up the metaphor of the τρόπαιον. In this connection we should like to refer again to a text of Origen, namely *Comm. in Joh.* 20, 36 (Origenes IV, p. 376),

¹ In this connection we assume the influence of this 'Pauline' metaphor upon our author. See in this respect also: ch. 53, 1 (p. 179); ch. 55, 1 (p. 181).

² See p. 192 f. ³ *I Apol.* 55, 3. 6.

⁴ See p. 193.

⁵ In the *passio Andreae* 9 (II, 1 p. 22) mention is made of the τρόπαιον τοῦ σταυροῦ; in the *martyrium prius* 14 (II, 1 p. 55) we read: ὦ σταυρέ, τρόπαιον νίκης Χριστοῦ κατ' ἐχθρῶν.

⁶ . . . ἔμενεν ἐν μεθορίῳ δλων ἐρριζωμένος, τρόπαιον ἐπινίκιον αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ προπομπεύων καὶ θριαμβεύων.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 103 and p. 182.

where, alluding to Col 2, 14 f, he says of Christ θριαμβεύσαντος ἐν ξύλῳ τρόπαιον κατὰ πάσης ἀντικειμένης δυνάμεως τὸν σταυρὸν στήσαντος. . . That our author was aware of the metaphor of the τρόπαιον for the Cross is evident from ch 51, 6

51, 7 'This (Cross) is for me the narrow path, this is for me the strait way'¹ This metaphor is a clear reminiscence of Mt 7, 14, where mention is made of the narrow gate and the strait way that lead to Life This is the first time we have come across the application of this text of Matthew to the Cross

51, 8 'This is Jacob's ladder and the angels' path, at the top of the ladder the Lord is truly there as a place of rest'² We have already met Jacob's ladder (cf Gen 28, 12 f) as a figure of the Cross in Justin, *Dial* 86, 2³ and in Irenaeus, *Dem* 45⁴ In his allegory of the ship of the Church⁵ Hippolytus saw in the ladder leading up to the yard an image of the Cross⁶ It is not possible to deduce from the context whether or not Hippolytus was influenced in this by the typology of Jacob's ladder In our homily, however, the traditional, typological theme is still there

51, 9. The image of Jacob's ladder reaching from earth to heaven, brings the author to the image of a tree towering up to heaven. 'This heaven-high tree stretched from earth to heaven, an undying tree which has set itself midway between heaven and earth'⁷ This heaven-high (οὐρανόμηκες)⁸ tree (δένδρον)⁹ which rose up from the earth to

¹ Τοῦτό μοι ἄτραπος ἢ στενή, τοῦτο ἢ τεθλιμμένη ὁδός

² Τοῦτο κλίμαξ Ἰανώβ και τῶν ἀγγέλων τορεία, ἐφ' ἧς ἀκρας ἀληθῶς ἐστήρικται ὁ Κυριος

³ See p 42

⁴ See p 64 f

⁵ *De antichristo* 59 (Hippolytus I, 2, p 40)

⁶ See appendix 1, p 191

⁷ Τοῦτο δένδρον οὐρανόμηκες ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανους ἀνέβαινε, ἀθανάτον φυτὸν στηρίξας ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ οὐρανοῦ τε και γῆς

⁸ We already find the expression δένδρον οὐρανόμηκες in Herodotus, II, 138 In Homer, *Od* 5, 239, we find the epithet οὐρανόμηκης used of a fir-tree

⁹ The word δένδρον is the usual word for 'tree' in profane literature, although the word ξύλον also occurs The proportions are reversed in the Septuagint There the word ξύλον is used about 120 times in the meaning of 'living wood', whereas the word δένδρον is used about 30 times In the New Testament the usual word is δένδρον, except in Rev 2, 7, 22, 2 14 19 where the word ξύλον is employed for the tree of Life Since the word δένδρον had no theological content it is not included in the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* Among the Apostolic Fathers we find it used by Ps Barnabas, in ch 11, 10-11, a passage which was probably influenced by Ezekiel 47, 1-12, and also by Hermas frequently in his *Similitudes* Justin does not employ it in his *Dialogue* nor does Melito in his *Homily* The Latin translator of Irenaeus uses *arbor* and *lignum* indiscriminately, except in Biblical quotations Clement of Alexandria shows a strong preference

heaven¹ puts one in mind of the longitudinal beam of the Cross. The expression 'which has set itself midway between heaven and earth' might suggest the transverse beam.² And so we see a heaven-high and world-broad cross taking shape before our eyes. In this connection the author uses the following expressions of cosmic import: 'basis of the whole, prop of the universe, support of the entire inhabited world, link (between the parts) in the cosmos'.³ The words 'of the whole', 'of the universe' render the cosmic character of this metaphor obvious.⁴ Just as in ch. 51, 6 the metaphor is four-fold: ἔδρασμα, στήριγμα, ἔρεισμα, σύμπλεγμα. We shall consider these words separately.

ἔδρασμα τῶν ὅλων: 'basis of the whole'. The word ἔδρασμα seldom occurs in Christian literature: neither in the New Testament, nor in the Apostolic Fathers nor among the Apologists. The only instance we have found⁵ is in Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* II, ch. 6, 30, 3 (II, p. 129): 'Faith is the basis (ἔδρασμα) of Love' where the word ἔδρασμα is also employed in a metaphorical sense.

στήριγμα τοῦ πάντος: 'prop of the universe'. We have already discussed στήριγμα with reference to its use in ch. 51, 6. There it had its common, metaphorical meaning. It is our impression that in this passage cosmological ideas such as those attributed to Gnostics⁶ also influenced the vocabulary. Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* I, 1, 6 (I, p. 29) says that the Valentinians attributed a twofold activity to Σταυρός/'Ὁρος⁷: ... τὴν ἐδραστικὴν καὶ τὴν μεριστικὴν καὶ καθὰ μὲν ἐδράζει καὶ στηρίζει Σταυρὸν

for δένδρον, although he uses ξύλον, especially in connection with the trees of Paradise. In *Strom.* V, ch. 11, 72, 4 (II, p. 375) we find the 'classical' translation of the Biblical ξύλον ζωῆς, that is, δένδρον ἀθανασίας (cf. Prov. 3, 18).

In early Christian literature we do not find the word δένδρον either as a name or as a metaphor for the Cross

¹ According to MIRCEA ELIADE, *op. cit.*, p. 213 ff., who refers to this passage in our homily, the Cross took the place in Christianity of the archetypal symbol of the cosmic tree

Cf. also H. DE LUBAC, *Aspects du Bouddhisme*, Paris 1951, p. 57 f.; 65 ff.; 157.

² Cf. P. NAUTIN, *op. cit.* p. 96 f.

³ ἔδρασμα τῶν ὅλων, στήριγμα τοῦ πάντος, ἔρεισμα τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης, σύμπλεγμα κοσμικόν.

⁴ Concerning this cosmic manner of viewing the Cross J. DANIELOU, *Judéo-Christianisme* p. 303, writes 'Vers le milieu du second siècle nous voyons ces symbolismes se développer dans une spéculation sur la Croix, qui apparaît aussi bien chez les orthodoxes que chez les gnostiques et où les dimensions de la Croix deviennent l'expression de l'universalité de l'action du Christ ressuscité, considérée dans son caractère cosmique'

⁵ Cf. also G. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, p. 406, s. v. ἔδρασμα.

⁶ Cf. J. DANIELOU, *Judéo-Christianisme*, p. 303-315.

⁷ See also p. 51

εἶναι, καθὼ δὲ μερίζει καὶ διορίζει "Ορον.¹ The Valentinians, according to Irenaeus, attributed to Σταυρός: the ἐδράζειν and the στηρίζειν, the same functions which we find in the concepts ἔδρασμα and στηρίγμα from this homily. It is not only in the Gnostics, however, that we find this vision of the Cross.² In the *Martyrium Andreae prius* 14 (II, 1, p. 54) we find the same function allotted to the Cross as with the Valentinians. Speaking of the deep significance of the Cross Andrew says: γνωρίζω σου τὸ μυστήριον, δι' ὃ καὶ πέπηγας· πέπηξαι γὰρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἵνα τὰ ἅσφατα στηρίξῃς.³

ἔρεισμα τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης: 'support of the entire world'. Apart from this homily we find ἔρεισμα used in the Septuagint (Prov. 14, 26), and in early Christian literature in Justin, *Dial.* 5, 6 (p. 98) and in Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* ch. 1, 5, 2 (I, p. 6). The text of Clement, dealing with the harmony in the universe, shows some similarity in vocabulary with our passage: τὸ ἄσφατον τὸ ἀκήρατον, ἔρεισμα τῶν ὅλων καὶ ἀρμονία τῶν πάντων. In ch. 35 (p. 159) our author, with reference to the text of Ex. 12, 11 'the staff in your hand', employs ἐρείσματα for the 'point of support' of the power of the Logos. Here too we do not wish to exclude an allusion to the Cross.

σύμπλεγμα κοσμικόν: 'link (between the parts) in the cosmos'. We do not know texts from the sacred literature in the first and second centuries A.D. in which the word σύμπλεγμα is used.

It seems unlikely that ἔδρασμα, στηρίγμα, ἔρεισμα were rigidly distinct concepts in the mind of our author. It would rather appear that from the wealth of his vocabulary he drew a number of concepts which, if not synonymous, were nevertheless closely related. In this, moreover, his preference for nouns ending in -μα is clearly evident.⁴

¹ Cf. also Hippolytus, *Elenchus* VI, 31, 5-7; 34, 7; *Acta Joannis*, 98 f

² Clement of Rome, *Ep.* 33, 3 (p. 52 f.) too employs in connection with the Creation the concepts: στηρίζειν, ἐδράζειν, διαχωρίζειν.

We may include here the considerations of Justin and Irenaeus on the cosmic symbolism of the Cross referring to Plato's *Timaeus* 36 BC, which we have already mentioned in our first appendix (see p. 192 f.)

³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55: ὃ ὄνομα σταυροῦ, πρᾶγμα ἀνάμεστον ὅλων· εὖγε, ὦ σταυρέ, τὴν περιφέρειαν τοῦ κόσμου πεδήσας ...

⁴ Compare, for example, ch. 62 (p. 189 f.) of this homily, in which the author employs the following four nouns in -μα: ἔδρασμα, πανηγύρισμα, φώτισμα, ἀγλάισμα, cf. also ch. 2, 1; 9, 1 f.; 10, 1; 12, 13; 29, 4; 34; 37; 48.

According to A. DEBRUNNER, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre*, Heidelberg 1917, p. 157, the formation of nouns ending in -μα: 'ist besonders in der ionischen Bildung aufgekommen und Liebling der hellenistischen Gelehrsamkeit'.

We wonder too whether this preference for particular word forms did not also influence the choice of the word φυλακτήριον in ch. 51, 6. In ch. 9, 3 (p. 135) we find the word κολαστήριον employed in the meaning of 'punishment'; in ch. 9, 5 (p. 137) παιδευτήριον and μυστήριον; in ch. 15, 2 (p. 143) φυλακτήριον and οὐκ η-

The longitudinal beam of this cosmic cross points to God, the transverse beam extends to embrace all people. This leads our author to see in the longitudinal beam the unchangeable, divine Nature (τὸ Θεῖον), in the transverse beam the multiform human nature (ἡ ποικίλη καὶ ἀνθρωπίνη οὐσία), for ever riveted together by an invisible bond (γόμφος) of the Spirit: '(the Cross) . . . keeping together (συνεκτικός) the multiform human nature, riveted together by invisible nails of the Spirit, so that it (*i.e.* the human nature), joined with the Divine, can never again be loosened from it'.¹

This passage conjures up first of all the joining of the Divine and human Natures in Christ, a symbolism of the cross beams which we have already discussed.² Moreover, it seems to us that 'the multiform human nature' also implies the variety of mankind, held together by the Cross (cf. Eph. 2, 16) and linked by the Spirit with the Godhead.

The use of the word συνεκτικός (holding together) strikes an unfamiliar note. It occurs chiefly in profane texts of a philosophical nature.³ It is not found in the Septuagint, in the New Testament, in the Apostolic Fathers, in Justin, Melito or Irenaeus. Clement of Alexandria employs it repeatedly in his *Stromata*,⁴ usually linked with αἰτιον in the meaning of 'essential'. It is used here in its proper meaning of 'holding together' (συν-ἔχειν).⁵

51, 10: 'With His lofty top He touched the heavens, with His feet He gave support to the earth, with His arms He embraced the numerous spirits present on all sides in the air between heaven and earth; (thus) He was completely in everything and everywhere'.⁶

τήριον. Here too the rhetorical figure of words or clauses ending alike (ὁμοιοτέλευτα) brought its influence to bear. Moreover, words ending in -ήριον like μυστήριον and σωτήριον were extremely important in the religious sphere.

¹ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης οὐσίας συνεκτικόν, ἀοράτοις γόμοις τοῦ Πνεύματος συνηλωμένον, ἵνα τῷ Θεῷ συναρμοσθὲν μηκέτι λυθῇ.

² See p. 78 f The similarity in the consideration of the Cross between this homily 51, 9-10 and the *martyrium Andreae prius* 14 is striking

³ Cf LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES, *op. cit.* p 1707 s.v. συνεκτικός

⁴ Cf. *Strom* VI, ch 11, 91, 4, *Strom* VIII, ch 8 and ch 9 (*passim*)

⁵ It seems to us not impossible that in place of συνεκτικόν one should read συνακτικόν (from συν-ἔχειν) This would also be more in accordance with the *Martyrium Andreae prius* 14 (II, 1, p. 54 f.) καὶ τὸ μέν σου εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνατείνεται, ἵνα τὸν ἀνθρώπον Λόγον σημαίνης· τὸ δέ σου ἥπλωτο δεξιᾷ καὶ ἀριστερᾷ, ἵνα τὴν φοβερὰν καὶ ἀντικειμένην δύναμιν τροπώσῃ καὶ τὸν κόσμον συναγάγῃ εἰς ἓν.

Cf. Irenaeus, *adv. Haer* V, 17, 4 (II, p 372) καὶ ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν προβεβηκότων, διὰ τῆς θείας ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοὺς δύο λαοὺς εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν συνάγων

⁶ Ἀκραις μὲν κορυφαῖς τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπιψαύων, τὴν γῆν δὲ στηρίζων ποσὶ, τὸ δὲ πολὺ καὶ μέσον πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀέρος πανταχόθεν χερσὶν ἀμετρήτοις περιλαβὼν, ὅλος ἦν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ πανταχοῦ.

The cross of cosmic dimensions is now transformed into a cosmic cross figure,¹ with its feet supported on the earth, with its top (κορυφή, not κεφαλή) touching the heavens (length), with its immense arms (breadth) embracing the spirits in the air,² a figure whose activity makes itself felt everywhere and in everything.

This section also concurs completely with the cross symbolism developed in ch. 51, 9. Ch. 51, 10 dissipates any doubt concerning the cross attitude of this figure. For this gradual merging of Cross and Christ, for this tendency to identification, we have already found indications in Ps. Barnabas 12, 1,³ possibly in Justin, *Dial.* 86, 1,⁴ and especially in Apocryphal literature, such as the *Oracula Sibyllina* VIII, 247 f.,⁵ the *Acta Joannis* 98⁶ and the *Martyrium Petri* 9.⁷

Concluding remarks

Regarding the terminology the following may be established. In the introduction to the eulogy on the Cross (ch. 49) and also in the eulogy itself (ch. 50–ch. 51) the word σταυρός does not occur. It is not found either in the rest of the homily. In ch. 50 the author employs the term ξύλον for the Cross contrasted with the tree of Knowledge. From the rest of ch. 50 and from ch. 51 it appears that the author considers the Cross as the tree of Life, but this analogy is nowhere indicated in the terminology.⁸ The remaining terms in relation to the Cross in ch. 51: φυτόν (bis), τροφή, πηγή, σκέπη, φυλακτήριον, στήριγμα (bis), βραβεῖον, τρόπαιον, ἄτραπος ἢ στένη, ἢ τεθλιμμένη ὁδός, κλίμαξ Ἰακώβ, δένδρον, ἔδρασμα, ἔρεισμα, σύμπλεγμα must, in our opinion, be considered as metaphors and not as usual names for the Cross. In this series of metaphors we are struck by an exuberance not found in any of the early Fathers. If we exclude τρόπαιον (also a symbol of the Cross) and the κλίμαξ Ἰακώβ (typology of the Cross) we have not come across any of the metaphors mentioned in any Patristic text discussed in chapters one and two.

¹ The writer here passes from the neuter (τοῦτο) to the masculine (ἐπιψάων, στηρίζων, περιλαβών). A first transition could already be noted in ch. 51, 8 (στηρίξας ἑαυτόν).

² Cf. for the 'air' as the domain of the evil spirits, among others, Eph. 2, 2.

³ See p. 27 f.

⁴ See p. 39 f. Cf. H. DE LUBAC, *op. cit.* p. 70: 'L'identification du Corps du Christ et de sa Croix suit naturellement l'identification du Christ et de l'Arbre de Vie'.

⁵ See p. 116.

⁶ See p. 78.

⁷ *Ibidem.*

⁸ We also find ξύλον employed for the Cross in ch. 7 (p. 133): ὑπέμεινε θάνατον διὰ ξύλου.

The many rarely used words in ch. 51,¹ the pleonasm in diction, the predilection for particular word-forms, all indicate, in our opinion, an extremely personal style, scarcely fettered by Christian tradition²

The triumphant tone of this eulogy on the Cross, as expressed also in its vocabulary, seems to us more characteristic of Constantinian than Hippolytean times³

The themes in connection with the Cross The word-play in ch. 49 φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα – παθεῖν τὸ πάσχα may be an indication of the influence of Hippolytus upon our author⁴ but it may also be, in a general way, a theme in connection with the Quartodeciman practice

The opposition between the tree of Knowledge and the tree of the Cross in ch. 50 is a commonplace in Christian literature from the time of Irenaeus. The fact that this opposition conjures up the antithesis Adam-Christ proves the close association of Cross and Christ in our author's train of thought. Together with the opposition of the tree of the Cross and the tree of Knowledge we also find in ch. 50 the analogy

¹ The only writer in whom we find several of these words is Clement of Alexandria. These are ἔδρασμα, ἔρεισμα, στηριγμα, φυλακτήριον

² As far as this eulogy is concerned we cannot associate ourselves with the assertion of CH. MARTIN, in *Un peri tou Pascha de saint Hippolyte retrouvé* RSR 16 (1926) p. 150 'le tout est sans prétention littéraire ou oratoire'. Compare also ch. 1, ch. 17, ch. 45, ch. 62

³ Cf. e.g. the vocabulary of Eusebius in *De vita Constantini* I, 40 (Eusebius I, p. 26) the Cross is named α μέγα τρόπαιον, α φυλακτήριον

Cf. the recent study of E. DINKLER, *Bemerkungen zum Kreuz als τρόπαιον*, in *Mullus*, Festschrift Theodor Klauser (Erganzungsband 1 zum JAC), Munster 1964, p. 71–78, esp. p. 74 f.

⁴ A second indication for the influence of Hippolytus, also in connection with the Cross, is the emphasis which our writer places upon the ἑκτασις χειρῶν. So ch. 1 (p. 117) Ζωὴ τοῖς οἰοῖς ἐφηπλώθη

ch. 15, 2 (p. 145) –ὁ δὲ ἴσκει-τ-α-σ-ω ὑμᾶς τῶν ἑκτασεων χειρῶν Ἰησοῦ αἱ σκεπάζουσι τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἀπληστοὶ ἐπιβολαί

ch. 38 (p. 159 f.) χεῖρας ἐξετείνας πατρικᾶς, ἐκάλυψας ἡμᾶς ἐν-τὸς –ῶν πε-τ-ε-ρ-ῶ-ν σου τῶν πατρικῶν

ch. 55, 2 (p. 183) . μικροῦ δ' ἂν ἐξέπεσον καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, –ὄν πρὸ ἑωσφόρου βλέποντες ἀπλούμενον

ch. 56 (p. 185) ὡ τῆς θείας ἐκτάσεως τῆς ἐν πᾶσι καὶ πανταχοῦ, ὡ τῆς διὰ πάντων ἀπλουμένης σταυρώσεως

ch. 63 (p. 191) δέσποτα, βασιλεῦ Χριστέ, ὑπερέχε σου τὰς χεῖρας –ὰς μεγάλας ἐπὶ τὴν ἱεράν σου ἐκκλησίαν

For Hippolytus we may refer to

De antichristo 61 (Hippolytus I, 2 p. 42) τὴν εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πίστιν, δὲ ἐκτείνας τὰς ἀγίας χεῖρας ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ ἠπλώσε δυο πτέρυγας, δεξιάν καὶ εὐώνυμον, προσκαλούμενος πάντας τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας

Bened Iacob 16 (PO 27 p. 74) διὰ τῆς ἐκτάσεως τῶν χειρῶν ἴσχυσε κατὰ τῶν ἑθρῶν θριαμβεῦσαι τὰς ἐξουσίας

Bened Moysis (PO 27, p. 131) 'Car ouverture et abri pour tous, qui peut l'être,

of the Cross with the tree of Life. The elaboration of this theme in ch. 51 is pursued, however, not in a typological sense but as literary metaphor and cosmic symbolism.

The theme of 'the narrow path' in ch. 51, 7 implies the theme of 'the two ways', familiar from the Old Testament and profane literature, and already employed in Christian literature from *Didache* 1 and *Ps. Barnabas* 18.

The theme of the cosmic cross symbolism (ch. 51, 8 ff.) we have already met with in Justin and Irenaeus,¹ and in Apocryphal literature. In this connection we should especially like to draw attention to points of contact with the *Martyrium Petri* 9 and the *Martyrium Andreae prius* 14. Also the identification of Cross and Christ in this cosmic symbolism is a trend met with particularly in Apocryphal literature.

The themes in connection with the Cross are traditional, which cannot be said of the terminology. Nevertheless, there is no evidence in the treatment of these themes of a conscious striving after typological relationships. With the exception of the theme of the symbolism of the cross beams, these themes are rather indicated than developed.

Although here again it is not possible to advance any decisive arguments, a dating of this eulogy on the Cross in the beginning of the third century seems to us rather improbable.²

sinon le Seigneur qui a étendu ses mains . . .'

We have already quoted some of these texts with reference to our consideration of *Didache* 16, 6 (see p. 127 and also on p. 136, footnote 2).

¹ See our first appendix, on p. 195 f.

² P. NAUTIN, *op. cit.* p. 46 ff., bases his dating (4th century) principally upon theological arguments; ch. 45 (p. 165), *e.g.*, can only be understood in the light of anti-Arianism.

CONCLUSIONS

As the aim of this philological study we had set ourselves to examine the terms used for the Holy Cross in early Christian literature (up to the beginning of the third century) in so far as these terms are based upon Old Testament typology.

For a good understanding of our subject it was necessary to include in this examination the entire cross terminology of early Christian literature. Only within this larger framework can names for the Cross, as far as they are influenced by the Old Testament, receive their correct valuation.

Our conclusions may be resumed as follows. As appears from the Patristic texts and the earliest Apocryphal writings, the usual name for the Holy Cross was σταυρός. This use of σταυρός for the instrument of torture upon which Christ died is completely in accordance with the vocabulary of the Evangelists in their Passion-narrative and also with the contemporary profane usage. A remarkable fact is that the word σταυρός does not occur at all in the Septuagint.

In the primitive Catechesis, so far as we can gain any impression of it from the Acts, the word σταυρός is not employed. In the Acts – and this also holds good for 1 Peter – the term ξύλον is used for the Holy Cross in an expression (at least in Acts 5, 30 and 10, 39) which recalls Deuteronomy 21, 23. This impression is confirmed by Galatians 3, 13 where Paul, speaking of Christ's cross, quotes Deut. 21, 23. In our opinion the choice of the word ξύλον and consequently the avoidance of the expected σταυρός find their explanation in the trend of thought prevailing in the Apostolic period. The first Christians aligned themselves with the way of thinking and with the terminology of the Jews which was also theirs. And this Jewish way of thinking had found its most exalted expression in the language of the Old Testament.

In this respect Paul held himself aloof from Judaism. The exclusive use of σταυρός (except in the quotation from Deut. 21, 23) is an indication of the universal character which the *doctor gentium* attributed to the Redemption through the Cross. In this way Paul imparted to σταυρός a symbolic content: it became for him the symbol or the synthesis of the Redemption.

In the sub-Apostolic period and in the second century the picture is less distinct.

In the *Didache* the unusual expression σημειον ἐκπετάσεως is probably intended to refer to the *crux gloriosa* at the Parousia, to which τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου from Mt. 24, 30 may also refer. Ignatius concurs entirely with the Pauline linguistic usage. Ps. Barnabas is the first of the Fathers with whom we can speak of a typological interpretation of the Old Testament concerning the Cross. In Ps. Barnabas too the usual term for Christ's cross is σταυρός. But if instead of this he employs the word ξύλον, and this also holds good for σημειον in ch. 12, 5, he does so under influence of data from the Old Testament, expressed in the word ξύλον or σημειον, in which he sees a τύπος σταυροῦ. In the two cases (ch. 5, 13 and ch. 12, 7) in which the choice of the word ξύλον cannot be traced back to a particular text from the Old Testament, the expression ἐπὶ (τοῦ) ξύλου is used.

This same method of Old Testament Scriptural interpretation may also be found in Justin's Dialogue. The number of cases of typological interpretation concerning the Cross is greater in Justin than in Ps. Barnabas, and includes not only ξύλον and σημειον but also κέρας and ῥάβδος. When Justin employs the word κέρας, ῥάβδος or σημειον in connection with the cross of Christ, it is because he found in the Septuagint the word κέρας, ῥάβδος or σημειον for data from the Old Testament in which he saw a type or a prediction of the Cross. This applies also to ξύλον. Only in one case (ch. 97, 1), with reference to the use of ξύλον for the Cross it is impossible to refer for proof to the Old Testament text (Ex. 15, 12 f.) quoted in that connection. It is noteworthy that in this case, just as in the two exceptions in Ps. Barnabas, the expression ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου is employed.

In his Paschal homily Melito of Sardis employs for Christ's cross only the term ξύλον. The reference to Jer. 11, 19, the only ξύλον text cited by Melito as a *testimonium crucis*, cannot be said to provide sufficient explanation. In our opinion, the choice of ξύλον must have been influenced by Melito's typological way of thinking so plainly evident in this homily. In addition, however, motives of a literary and aesthetic

nature must also have played their part in leading him to avoid the use of σταυρός.

Irenaeus' own vocabulary as far as the Cross is concerned, appears to be influenced by expressions derived from the Scriptures, but now for the first time also from the New Testament. The only name for the Cross to which Irenaeus attaches typological associations is ξύλον. Moreover, in his grandiose concept of the *recapitulatio* he incorporated the antithesis between the tree of Knowledge and the tree of the Cross, also expressed in the term ξύλον. We do, moreover, find in his work, especially in his *Demonstratio*, a number of traditional *testimonia crucis*.

It is remarkable that Clement of Alexandria makes such little use of the word σταυρός for Christ's cross. With the tree of Life and the sacrifice of Isaac the typological relationship with the cross of Christ is accentuated by the use of ξύλον. The word ξύλον, besides, lent itself to ambiguous usage. The term σημεῖον was attractive to Clement in that, alongside its general meaning of 'sign' or 'symbol', it could also be employed in the pregnant meaning of 'the sign of Christ', 'the Cross'. This presupposes, however, that in Clement's milieu σημεῖον was already understood as 'the sign of Christ'.

We find confirmation of this in the Odes of Solomon, where the symbolism of the cruciform attitude of prayer is referred to. The word 'wood' too is used as a term for the Cross. The word 'Cross' itself does not occur, nor do we find it in the Sibylline Oracles. There, however, we do find ξύλον, κέρας and ῥάβδος as a name for Christ's cross. Σημεῖον does not occur, but σφραγίς does, probably not as a name for the Cross itself but for a cruciform *signatio*. In the use of these terms, in both the Odes of Solomon and the Sibylline Oracles, no connection is established with a particular text from the Old Testament. The Jewish-Christian atmosphere which emanates from the content and style of these poems, and also their mysterious and poetic character are sufficient explanation for the use of these terms and for the avoidance of the rough σταυρός.

Typological associations relating to the Cross are lacking in the earliest Apocrypha of the New Testament, although in the *Kerygma Petri* the typological method of preaching of the Apostles is expressly established. We do, however, find in these Apocrypha mystical considerations about the Cross and also cross symbolism, with, in addition, the trend towards the identification of the Cross with Christ. The usual term for the Cross in this Apocryphal literature is σταυρός.

As appears from *adversus Marcionem III* (and *adversus Iudaeos*),

Tertullian showed himself a worthy pupil of Justin. He adopted many of his themes concerning the Cross and derived from the Old Testament. In adopting these themes he also used in Latin Justin's terminology as regards ξύλον (*lignum*) and κέρας (*cornu*). This is not so, however, for ῥάβδος and σημεῖον. The ῥάβδος-typology in connection with the Cross does not occur in Tertullian. In the typology of the brazen serpent, the only Old Testament passage to which Ps. Barnabas and Justin refer for their use of the term σημεῖον for the Cross, Tertullian did not use this term in Latin. The only plausible explanation for this fact seems to be that in Tertullian's milieu the Latin *signum*, which corresponds to the Greek σημεῖον, had in the meantime evolved the meaning of 'cruciform *signatio*'. This led us to a more extensive examination of the link in terminology between the Cross and the cruciform *signatio* in the latter half of the second century and the first half of the third. It emerged that a cruciform *signatio* is mentioned in connection with the initiation ritual and as a pious practice in the daily life of the Christians. The earliest Apocrypha and Hippolytus' *Traditio apostolica* render it probable that both the cruciform *signatio* as part of the initiation and the practice of the sign of the cross were rendered in Greek by σφραγίς and σφραγιζειν, terms which in their turn were translated into Latin by *signum/signaculum*, *signatio* and *signare*. Thus there are links, from the Latin point of view, between *signum* and derivatives, and σφραγίς and σημεῖον respectively. This makes it impossible to gain from the literature any clearly defined picture of the development. The texts do give the impression that *signum* and the words derived from it are linked more closely with σφραγίς than with σημεῖον. We must add, however, that with regard to this cruciform *signatio* Tertullian, Cyprian and Origen refer to the *signum Tau* from Ezekiel 9, 4. 6, which is based upon a σημεῖον in the Greek versions of the Old Testament.

As a final conclusion we may state that alongside σταυρός the term ξύλον succeeded in maintaining itself fairly well, and not only for typological reasons. That, in addition, σημεῖον, which was also used as a term for Christ's cross, and especially the Latin *signum*, developed the meaning of cruciform *signatio* which in its turn as a symbolic gesture contains a reference to Christ's cross. That probably κέρας and ῥάβδος never became current and presumably owed their continued existence principally to apologetic and catechetical literature. It would be necessary to examine the literature of the third and fourth centuries to determine how far this supposition is justified.

From the texts of Justin, Tertullian and Minucius Felix which we have quoted in our first appendix it appeared that visual cross symbolism was advanced as an argument chiefly when dealing with pagans. At the same time the cross symbolism presumably possessed for the Christians themselves a distinctive, religious value, which may be apparent, among others, from the cruciform attitude of prayer. It must be said, however, that data concerning this distinctive, religious cross symbolism are very rare in early literature.

We already found a first indication of metaphorical linguistic usage in connection with the Cross in Col. 2, 14 f. (τρόπαιον). Ignatius of Antioch knows the metaphor of the tree of the Cross and also that of the Cross as μηχανή. In Justin too we find the metaphor of the τρόπαιον. Here too the data are scarce and we are still far from the exuberant use of metaphor for the Cross as found (in our second appendix) in the eulogy on the Cross from the Paschal homily, inspired by Hippolytus.

SAMENVATTING

Deze filologische studie wil zijn: een onderzoek van de termen voor het heilig Kruis in de oudste christelijke literatuur (tot in het begin van de derde eeuw), ten einde na te gaan of het typologisch verband tussen het Kruis en een gegeven uit het Oude Testament al dan niet in deze termen tot uitdrukking is gebracht.

In het eerste hoofdstuk wordt in een inleidend gedeelte een beknopt overzicht gegeven van het profane gebruik van σταυρός, dat, zoals blijkt uit de christelijke literatuur, de gewone aanduiding is van Christus' kruis. Daarnaast wordt het gebruik van ξύλον in de betekenis van 'middel om iemand te straffen' nagegaan in de Septuagint, waar σταυρός niet voorkomt. Daarbij wordt verwezen naar aanknopingspunten in de profane literatuur. Tenslotte wordt er nader ingegaan op het gebruik van σταυρός en ξύλον in het Nieuwe Testament. Belangrijk als uitgangspunt voor de beoordeling van het gebruik van deze woorden bij de Kerkvaders is wel, dat het woord σταυρός door alle evangelisten in hun lijdensverhaal gebruikt wordt, terwijl wij in de oudste catechese, voor zover wij de Handelingen van de Apostelen en de eerste Brief van Petrus als een neerslag daarvan mogen beschouwen, alleen de term ξύλον gebruikt vinden. De uitdrukking κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου (Hand. 5, 30; 10, 39) doet een verband vermoeden met Deut. 21, 23, een tekst die Paulus in Gal. 3, 13 in verband met het Kruis citeert. Deze voorkeur voor ξύλον wijst op een aansluiting van het oudste Christendom bij de Joodse gedachtengang, zoals die in de Schrift zijn verheven uitdrukking gevonden had. Paulus heeft in dit opzicht bewust met die aansluiting gebroken. Dat hij, behalve in het citaat van Deut. 21, 23 in Gal. 3, 13, uitsluitend σταυρός gebruikt, mag gezien worden als een uiting van zijn geloof in het universele karakter van de Verlossing door het Kruis. Daarmee heeft Paulus aan het woord σταυρός een theologische inhoud gegeven: het werd voor hem het symbool van de Verlossing.

In de oudste patristische literatuur, het eigenlijke terrein van ons onderzoek, liggen de verhoudingen tussen het gebruik van σταυρός en ξύλον meer genuanceerd. Evenals Paulus gebruikt Ignatius van Antiochië uitsluitend σταυρός. In zijn Brieven legt hij nergens een typologisch verband tussen het Kruis en het Oude Testament. Ook voor ps. Barnabas is σταυρός de gewone aanduiding. Maar als hij in plaats van σταυρός het woord ξύλον gebruikt, dan is dat onder invloed van een gegeven uit het Oude Testament, uitgedrukt in het woord ξύλον, waarin hij een τύπος σταυροῦ ziet. In de twee gevallen waarin ξύλον niet vanuit een bepaalde tekst uit het Oude Testament te verklaren is, komt het voor in de uitdrukking ἐπὶ (τοῦ) ξύλου, die reminiscenties wekt aan Deut. 21, 22 f.

In Justinus' *Dialogus* is de keuze tussen σταυρός en ξύλον door dezelfde motieven bepaald als bij ps. Barnabas. In het enige geval waarin voor de keuze van het woord ξύλον voor het Kruis niet de in die passage geciteerde tekst uit het Oude Testament als verklaring kan worden aangehaald, wordt evenals bij ps. Barnabas de uitdrukking ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου gebruikt.

In de homilie over het 'Pascha' van Melito van Sardes vinden wij alleen de aanduiding ξύλον. De verwijzing naar Jer. 11, 19, een tekst die Melito in verband met het Kruis citeert, kan niet de volledige verklaring van dit exclusieve gebruik zijn. Ook Melito's typologische wijze van Schriftinterpretatie, die in deze preek zo sterk naar voren komt, moet de keuze van ξύλον beïnvloed hebben. Daarnaast hebben vermoedelijk motieven van literair-esthetische aard mede de vermindering van σταυρός bepaald.

Irenaeus' woordkeuze blijkt beïnvloed te zijn door uitdrukkingen die aan de Schrift – en nú ook aan het Nieuwe Testament – ontleend zijn. Aan het woord ξύλον blijken, hoewel in mindere mate dan bij ps. Barnabas of Justinus, typologische relaties verbonden te zijn. Bij hem vinden wij ook voor het eerst de antithese tussen het Kruis en de boom van kennis uit het aards paradijs, beide aangeduid door ξύλον en opgenomen in zijn grootse conceptie van de *recapitulatio* in Christus.

Clemens van Alexandrië gebruikt het woord σταυρός opvallend weinig; wij kunnen ons niet aan de indruk onttrekken dat hij het liever niet gebruikte, en dat niet alleen om redenen van typologische aard. Bij de Boom des Levens en bij het offer van Isaac heeft hij de typologische relatie met het Kruis door het gebruik van het woord ξύλον geaccentueerd. Bovendien leende het woord ξύλον zich voor ambigu woordgebruik.

In de Oden van Salomon en in de *Oracula Sibyllina* vinden wij het woord 'kruis' niet, afgezien van het acrostichon σταυρός in *Or. Sib.* VIII, 244-250. Wel het woord 'hout' als aanduiding van Christus' kruis. Typologische relaties worden er in dat verband niet gelegd. Toch lijkt het ons dat het gebruik van de aanduiding 'hout' en de vermijding van 'kruis' in verband gebracht moeten worden met de Joods-Christelijke sfeer die spreekt uit inhoud en stijl van deze gedichten, alsmede met hun poëtisch en mysterieus karakter.

Ook Tertullianus hebben wij in dit onderzoek betrokken. Werkzaam op de grens van de tweede en derde eeuw, stond Tertullianus nog zeer dicht bij de tijd waarin het gebruik van het Grieks in de christelijke literatuur algemeen was. Bovendien was hij zelf 'twee-talig'. Het leek ons interessant na te gaan, hoe wij bij Tertullianus de Griekse kruisterminologie in het Latijn vertaald vinden. Uit zijn *adversus Marcionem III* en zijn *adversus Iudaeos* blijkt dat Tertullianus veel van de themata die door Justinus aan het Oude Testament ontleend zijn, heeft overgenomen. Hetzelfde geldt trouwens voor soortgelijke themata die voorkomen bij Irenaeus. Bij de overname van de kruis-themata heeft Tertullianus, door het gebruik van '*lignum*', de typologische relatie ook in woordkeuze benadrukt.

In het tweede hoofdstuk hebben wij de termen κέρας, ῥάβδος en σημεῖον besproken. De termen κέρας en ῥάβδος als aanduiding voor Christus' kruis hebben nooit de verbreiding gevonden die ξύλον gekend heeft.

De benaming κέρας treffen wij aan bij Justinus, die zich beroept op Deut. 33, 17 en op ps. 21, 22, bij Apollinaris van Hierapolis, en, in navolging van Justinus, ook bij Tertullianus. Deze verwijst bovendien naar Gen. 22, 13. Ook in de *Oracula Sibyllina* vinden wij de aanduiding κέρας voor het Kruis.

In zijn *testimonia*-reeks in *Dial.* 86 heeft Justinus ook een aantal ῥάβδος-citaten opgenomen. Het gaat daar echter niet zozeer om het ῥάβδος-symbool zelf, als wel om het μυστήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, dat zich in ieder ξύλον manifesteert. Toch legt Justinus in *Dial.* 138, 2 verband tussen de staf van Moses en het Kruis. Daarnaast geeft hij 'Ῥάβδος als een van de oudtestamentische benamingen voor Christus. Irenaeus is de eerste die de ῥάβδος uit Is. 11, 1 betreft op Maria. In de *Oracula Sibyllina* vinden wij de ῥάβδος uit ps. 2, 9 toegepast op het Kruis.

De aanduiding σημεῖον bood ons de gelegenheid tot een breder onderzoek. Zoals blijkt uit de oudste apocriefen en uit latere Griekse Kerkvaders, is het σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου uit Mt. 24, 30 geïnterpreteerd als de *crux gloriosa* bij de Parousie. Dit lijkt ons ook de zin

van de mysterieuze uitdrukking *σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως* in *Did.* 16, 6. Ps. Barnabas en Justinus gebruiken de aanduiding *σημεῖον* voor Christus' kruis wanneer zij teruggrijpen op Num. 21, 8 f. (de koperen slang). Ook in het z.g. Esdrascitaat in *Dial.* 72, 1 vinden wij *σημεῖον* in die betekenis.

Bij Clemens van Alexandrië komt de aanduiding *σημεῖον* frequenter voor dan *σταυρός*, en zelfs dan *ξύλον*. Het woord *σημεῖον* had het aantrekkelijke dat zijn algemene betekenis 'teken' of 'symbool' was. Zo kon het, vrij onopvallend voor de 'buitenstaander', gebruikt worden in de pregnante zin van 'teken van Christus'. Ook in de Oden van Salomon wordt in de cruciforme gebedshouding 'het teken van de Heer' gezien.

Tertullianus gebruikt *signum* niet als aanduiding van Christus' kruis. Wel constateren wij dat hij *signum* en van *signum* afgeleide woorden gebruikt in verband met een cruciforme *signatio*. Dit merkwaardige verschijnsel bracht ons tot een breder onderzoek van de cruciforme *signatio*, zowel bij het initiatieritueel alsook als vroom gebruik in het dagelijkse leven van de Christenen. Om in die betekenisontwikkeling enig inzicht te krijgen, hebben wij ook Hippolytus, Cyprianus en Origenes in het onderzoek betrokken, bovendien de oudste apokriefe Akten. Als resultaat hiervan menen wij te kunnen vaststellen dat de bindingen van *signum* met het Griekse *σφραγίς* sterker zijn geweest dan met *σημεῖον*. Afwezig waren bindingen met *σημεῖον* echter niet, zoals blijkt uit de verwijzing van Tertullianus, Cyprianus en Origenes naar Ez. 9, 4. 6 ter verklaring van de cruciforme *signatio*, en uit het feit dat Hippolytus het kruisteken een '*signum passionis*' noemt.

Bij het leggen van een typologisch verband is in sommige gevallen ook visuele symboliek (overeenkomst in vorm) van invloed geweest. Dit bracht ons er toe in een eerste appendix een opsomming te geven van kruissymbolen, vermeld in deze vroege periode, voor zover zij niet ontleend zijn aan het Oude Testament.

In een tweede appendix hebben wij de terminologie voor het Kruis in het *elogium crucis* uit de omstreden Paashomilie, geïnspireerd op Hippolytus, met onze gegevens vergeleken. De exuberante beeldspraak voor het Kruis, het veelvuldig gebruik van tal van woorden die in deze vroege periode nog weinig gangbaar waren, daarnaast het ontbreken van de gebruikelijke uitwerking van de traditionele themata in verband met het Kruis, maken een datering van dit *elogium* in het begin van de derde eeuw niet waarschijnlijk.

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STELLINGEN

I

De bewering van A. HAMMAN (*La Table Ronde* 120, 1957, p. 40) dat Petrus uit een gevoel van schaamte het Kruis als 'het hout' aanduidde (cf. Hand. 5, 30; 10, 39; 1 Petr. 2, 24), lijkt ons onjuist.

II

De verklaring die J. A. JUNGMAHN (*Symbolik der katholischen Kirche*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 17) geeft voor het feit dat de gekruisigde Christus of de kruisiging in de eerste eeuwen van het Christendom niet werden uitgebeeld, lijkt ons in haar algemeenheid onaanvaardbaar. JUNGMAHN beweert namelijk, dat dit niet verklaard moet worden uit afschuw van of schaamte over de kruisdood, maar uit het ontbreken van de behoefte om Christus naar zijn menselijk bestaan te kennen.

III

Met de bewering van CH. MARTIN (*Un περί τοῦ Πάσχα de saint Hippolyte retrouvé*, in RSR 16, 1926, p. 150) dat de Paashomilie die is opgenomen onder de *spuria* van Johannes Chrysostomus (PG 59, c. 735–746) en afzonderlijk uitgegeven door P. NAUTIN (*Homélies pascales I*, SC 27, Paris 1950) van alle literaire en retorische allure gespeend is, kunnen wij ons niet verenigen.

IV

De vertaling van *Oracula Sibyllina* VIII, 244–245 van de hand van A. KURFESS (in E. HENNECKE-W. SCHNEEMELCHER, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen II*, Tübingen 1964³, p. 519):

Σῆμα δέ τοι τότε πᾶσι βροτοῖς, σφρηγὶς ἐπίσημος
τὸ ξύλον ἐν πιστοῖς, τὸ κέρας τὸ ποθοῦμενον, ἔσται

'Ein verlässliches Zeichen, ein kenntliches Siegel indessen,
richtet die Gläubigen auf: das Kreuz, die Säule der Hoffnung'

is minstens zeer onnauwkeurig te noemen.

V

Uit de vertaling en de verklaring die W. BAUER (*Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Berlin 1958 ⁵, c. 1485) van ἐν σημείῳ in ps. Barnabas 12, 5 geeft, blijkt niets van enig typologisch verband met Num. 21, 8f.

VI

Het gebruik van de uitdrukking '*in signo*' met finale betekenis in Bijbelcitaten bij Cyprianus is beïnvloed door de Septuagint. Waarschijnlijk kan het gebruik van de uitdrukking '*in signo*' in Cyprianus, *Ad Fort.* 8 (CSEL III, 1, p. 330), op analoge wijze verklaard worden.

VII

Een nader onderzoek naar de connotatie van magie in de betekenis van het woord φυλακτήριον in profane en religieuze teksten uit de eerste vier eeuwen van onze jaartelling lijkt ons belangrijk voor onze kennis van het volksgeloof.

VIII

Het is niet noodzakelijk om τανύει in Homerus, *Od.* φ, 174 als een *futurum* te verklaren.

IX

Het gebruik van het *futurum simplex* in de Brieven van Seneca is illustratief voor de modale betekenis van het Latijnse *futurum*.

X

Vergilius (*Aeneis* 8, 51 ff.) is, voor zover wij weten, de eerste die een verband gelegd heeft tussen Aeneas en Euander. Ovidius (*Fasti* I, 519-522) bij wie wij dit verband ook vinden, is hierbij waarschijnlijk door Vergilius beïnvloed.

XI

De invallen van de Doriërs in Griekenland en de daarmede samenhangende uitwijking van Achaeërs en Ioniërs naar de eilanden in de Aegeïsche Zee en de Westkust van Klein Azië hebben mede de ontwikkeling van de epiek in dit gebied mogelijk gemaakt.

XII

De vrees is niet ongegrond dat het facultatief stellen van het Grieks in de β -afdeling van het Gymnasium zal leiden tot het afvoeren van het Grieks van het leerplan van het Gymnasium.



